1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

524 Children imitate not only the daily activities of their elders, but their games as well. Little girls build little dome-shaped lodges. Their dolls are made of clay with modeled eyes, nose, and mouth, but are not dressed.[133] Both these clay images and those made of wood are called a'm'ŏs, but the wooden figures, representing the spirit Tea'kiak, Little Boy, are not played with. Children play at shinny and double ball, and make cat's cradles. They play a game called wo'yīlītas wherein they run crying wo'yī wo'yī . . . . as long as their breath holds out and stand at the spot where they fail. The object is to see who can go farthest. Or they cry do·gliu do·gliu . . . . . Similarly, girls squat on their heels with hands on knees and jump up and down, singing la'masi, to see who can do it longest. They bet on this. A favorite spot to play this game, called salmasi'a, is at dūna'ksi on Pelican bay, where the ground resounds when they jump.

It is worth noting that the number of counters used in the guessing and dice games is always twelve. In the four-stick game—I so recorded it—the counters are thought of as twelve plus two. Another [114] of my informants spoke only of the twelve and this is the number recorded by Culin and Dorsey.[134] This number is unexpected because the pattern number of the Klamath is five. It may be that these games came to the Klamath in a form with twelve units and have not been reduced to the normal five or its multiple. How the pattern operates is illustrated by the informants' statements that five or six on a side play double ball shinny, that the perfect score in the dart game is five, and the penalty there five or more blows. On the other hand, it may be significant that I was told of six men to a side in the hand game and six in shinny. There are three possibilities; six and its multiple may be an indigenous pattern number for games, it may have been acquired as part of the game complex from other tribes, or it may be only a chance reference of the informants.

SMOKING

276 Smoking is a pastime with little to suggest ceremonial usage. To be sure, the shaman smokes in the interludes of the curing ceremonies, [755] using a special form of pipe, special tobacco mixed with reputedly poisonous roots, and prepared for him by his speaker, but he does not

[133] The Northern Paiute make clay figurines representing horses and other animals, corrals, etc., according to my informant. The Klamath do not. [171]

[134] Even the form of the dice game described for the "Klamath" of Sūlets, involving thirteen sticks, two of which are marked, may really be intended for twelve plus one, since elsewhere only one stick of such a set is marked. [532]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

276 [755]

cure by blowing smoke on the patient nor blow it to the distant spirits as an offering. The impression gained was that this is a matter only of self-indulgence during his periods of rest. Gatschet translates a song as "The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool (mŭlwas), the implement for tobacco," but the word also means any esoteric paraphernalia of the shaman.[185] The lay use of tobacco is at any time that convenience dictates, e.g., when resting in the evening. Women use tobacco as freely as men. The custom of passing the pipe from one to another is probably absent though I made no specific inquiry. [562]

Tobacco (ko'teka)[186] is smoked, never eaten. A boiled decoction of it is sometimes taken for bowel disorders.

The plant (*Nicotiana attenuata* Wats.) is not cultivated, but commonly grows in dry places.[187] A bundle of these plants together with kinnikinick is hung to dry in the top of the sweat-lodge until the leaves turn brown. Coville states that the dried leaves of manzanita, also, are mixed with the tobacco.[188] According to an informant the seed pods (which are sticky when fresh) and the adjacent parts of the flower are smoked; according to another the leaves and stem. The several plants are ground with any convenient little stone.

276 323 [114] [524]

The pipe (p!ŏks) is commonly clay with a spherical bowl and a short wooden stem, but is sometimes of stone and discoidal. The more common stone bowl is elbow-shaped with the arms at an obtuse angle, made of soft sandstone, shaped and hollowed by pecking. Barrett states that the discoidal form is less used than the angular but my information is to the contrary.[189] The stem is elder with the pith pushed out; Coville mentions the wood of the wild rose.[190] The manufacture of clay pipes by a non-pottery making people seems unusual; the only other use of clay is for making dolls. Yet the ease with which clay can be manipulated as against the difficulty of drilling and shaping stone must have favored its use.

276 756

A shaman's pipe (which has no special name) is the common clay bowl fitted with a long stem, eighteen inches or more, wrapped with

[185] 1:167.

[186] No word corresponding to the Shasta ŏp, tobacco, Takelma ŏ"p, Crow ŏp, etc., is known.

[187] Coville, Notes, 104. One of Powers' correspondents states that the Klamaths (Klamath river people?) cultivated it (Tribes of California, 426).

[188] Coville, Notes, 102. What is here called kinnikinick is probably Coville's bearberry (kă-mă-mĭ, *Arctostaphylos nevadensis* Gray); the common kinnikinick of northern latitudes does not grow so far south as Klamath lakes.

[189] Barrett, Material Culture, 253, pl. 22.

[190] Coville, Notes, 99.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

534 Several instruments whose presence might have been expected are unknown. Such are the cocoon rattle, the foot drum, or any other form except the hand drum. As to the cocoon rattle I doubt that there are any large cocoons in this region. It is rather surprising that those who accompany the singers do not beat time on a plank with clubs after the fashion of more northerly tribes. A peculiar Wishram drum, a horizontal pole slung from the roof by a rope and pounded against the wall, had been played at the Dalles by one of my informants, but it was never introduced among the Klamath. To be sure, their houses do not have plank walls but alternatives might have been substituted.

The musical bow should be mentioned here only for comparative purposes. The Klamath lack any special form but sometimes toy with an ordinary bow, holding the bow in the mouth and tapping the string with a stick. There is no name for this.

Whistles (stu'ta) are also playthings. These are made of willow, of a plant called wa'ḳŭm, or a jointed grass called watcŏŏ'ḳwls. The willow whistles are seven or eight inches long and provided with side holes like a flute. Whistles are blown direct into the open end.

533 Whistling with the lips was indulged in even before the coming of the whites.[148] Songs are not whistled.

SOCIAL DANCES

535 It is not clear whether there were any dances of purely social intent in earlier times or whether they were so rare as to be negligible. Two good informants said that formerly there were none. Indeed the use of the hand drum with social dances (yĕka') suggests their recency. Shamanistic performances, which were evidently frequent, may have provided a substitute entertainment.

Some time during the year a good singer will busy himself arranging a dance solely for amusement, called k'si'ulūks. Men and women form a circle with hands clasped, but the fingers not entwined. The step is a sidewise jump, not a shuffling of feet as is usual in circling dances among other tribes; the movement is in a counter-clockwise direction, I think. The circling begins with the song; they do not wait to sing a phrase before moving. Formerly, according to an unreliable informant, no musical instruments were in use but recently the hand drum was introduced from the tribes to the north.

[148] So, too, the Northern Paiute, according to my Klamath informant.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

775 [825]

the Klamath country in the winter, they never nest there. The eggs can be gathered only in bottomless baskets. The ghost's elks are water-bugs to mortal eye, and the flesh that they take is in reality bone. All their possessions are things that were destroyed with the dead, houses, baskets, beads, etc. Their hospitality also provokes them to throw firebrands at their visitors. Perhaps the very fact that Kɛmŭ'kŭmps is called out of his name by them in a tale is an attempt at inversion.

776

There is a wide variety of spirits from whom power is sought, animals, birds, reptiles, fish, natural phenomena, and a handful of anthropomorphic and purely mythical beings. The animals, etc., are not individuals of living species, but mythical beings, either immensely large or very small. Such anthropomorphic spirits as are definitely conceptualized are also tiny. Although they speak of all of these as individuals—they say for example that a man's spirit is Weasel or it is Wile'zkak, dwarf old woman—nevertheless there remains the suspicion that they are rather genera, for the same named spirit is described as dwelling in several localities and belonging to several shamans at the same time.

776 825

The number of spirits is indefinitely large; the following partial list is made up from various data given by my informants. The animals include grizzly and black bears, wolf, coyote, dog, mink, weasel, and fisher (!wa'lkŏteka). The birds are the horned owl, bald eagle, golden eagle, fish hawk, a smaller hawk (tel'ktu), a little hawk (wl'tgŏtgis), falcon, crow, magpie, buzzard, pelican, red and white shitepokes, butterball duck, a small sea gull (k!ŏtya'was), flicker, prairie chicken, an unidentified black bird (nāo'llns), a blue and brown one (gau'wi), and a tiny speckled bird (djlske'gɛ). In the fish and reptile class are the rattlesnake, a big speckled sluggish snake (wŭ'mɛnŭks), lizard, frog, a water snail (k!awi's), salmon, and trout. It is obviously the predatory animals that are chosen, with the omission of the cat tribe. The bird list also includes all the birds of prey and carrion eaters. Even though the list is incomplete, there are some significant omissions, such as deer, rodents, the song birds, and most fish are absent. The two fishes included are the largest representatives in Klamath waters.

[755]

There is little suggestion of differentiation of function and power among these spirits. To be sure, it is only through certain spirits that curing and the various shamanistic tricks can be performed, but my informants never once volunteered the statement that these were especially powerful. The exception is Frog, described by Nancy Phillips

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

776
825
[755]
as the most prominent and powerful of spirits, one on whom all shamans call, and whose presence is necessary before they can begin their curing ritual. This confirms Gatschet's information.[164] The Frog spirit is interesting on its own account. It is conceived as a big woman and so closely associated with pond-lily seed (wo'kas) as to lead to the suspicion that these are interchangeable concepts in the Klamath mind. It should be noted that the preparation of this staple is peculiarly woman's work among these people. In their mythology too, Frog figures as a woman. The last association is so widespread, perhaps universal, in North America, that the only special Klamath elements in the triple association are with wo'kas. While I am not certain, it is probable that this is the spirit which was described by Pat Kane as djɛlje'lîstel, whereas the common word for frog is ko'wɛ.

*[171]

776
755
114
Gatschet credits a similarly important rôle to another spirit.[165] "Another class of spirits embodies the spirits of those animals which have to be consulted by the ki'uks or conjurer when he is called to treat a case of disease. Such persons only who have been trained during five years for the profession of conjurers can see these spirits, but by them they are seen as clearly as we see the objects around us. To see them they have to go to the house of a deceased conjurer, and at night only. He is then led by a spirit called Yayayá-ash appearing in the form of a one-legged man toward the spot where the animal spirits live; this specter presides over them; there the conjurer notices that each appears different from the other, and is at liberty to consult them about the patient's case. Yayayá-ash means 'the frightener,' and by the myth-tellers is regarded as the Thunder or its spirit." I received no suggestion confirming any part of this.

776
The mythical beings are also probably genera rather than individuals; to'kĕ, a horned water snake, Wîle'ɛḳaḳ, a dwarf old woman, Tcaḳia'ḳ, a little boy, and Gŏga'nɛ, a dwarf man. There is also a nameless wild man (the spirit for the trick in which blood is magically produced) and a woman spirit (for curing). Wawiwŏ'ḳ!os, a monster-killing hero of a tale, figures in a shaman's song and hence may be a spirit.

Wîle'ɛḳaḳ is a dwarf old woman whose name is derived from wîlă'ĕks, old woman. She is about thirty inches high, and wears a basket hat and long buckskin dress. In one form she appears as a rock on the northeastern slope of Mount Pitt. She controls the west

[164] Gatschet, 1:ci, 180.
[165] 1:xcviii.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

no food taboos; shamans and others can eat their spirit animals. The only taboo of conduct peculiar to any spirit known is the prohibition against wearing footgear by one who has a dog spirit. For example, a Molala-Klamath halfbreed, the wife of the chief Li'lu, who dreamed of this spirit, never wore any protection for her feet even in the winter snows.

The shaman is cremated and his house burned like other Klamath. Usually his regalia, feathers and skins, are destroyed with the house. This must wait for calm weather; then only an old woman dare burn them. Immediately a storm rises, with strong winds and thunder, but lasts only a night. When the shaman dies and again when his body is burned, storms rage for several days.

THE SHAMANISTIC PERFORMANCE

While curing of necessity takes place at any time, shamanistic performances are given at only one time during the year. This is a nameless period, the fourth month (December–January), in midwinter,[162] the coldest period when the lake is frozen and the timber cracks with the cold. By this time all the earth-lodges are reconstructed and the Klamath are settled in their winter quarters. This is a period of enforced inactivity, what with the intense cold, the deep snows, and their inability to hunt and fish. Furthermore, the seances cannot be held any later in the winter for then they begin to run short of provisions, I was told, which is undoubtedly true and yet may be a rationalization. This brings to mind the winter sacred period of the Northwest Coast tribes, with its quiet dictated by a fear of profanation. It is not sacred to the ordinary Klamath; spirits are sought at any time. It is significant only to shamans and others who have spirits.

Shamans make a point of giving their performances every winter. A number of them may join for the purpose. The novice waits for winter to prove the coming of his power and only after this does he attempt to cure. The advent of power is called dodi'ḳalgŏt. Non-shamans who have a little power, perhaps a single spirit, may sing their own songs at a shaman's performance if the spirit impels them.

The shaman informally[163] invites the participants to his home for

[162] There is a discrepancy here in that the Klamath reckon a year of ten months, and these lunar periods begin with the lunation of August. My informants made it quite clear, however, that, although they specified the fourth month, they meant the period about Christmas.

[163] Knotted invitation strings, for instance, are unknown.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

756
787 Clairvoyance, at least the ability to see distant objects and events, lies within the power of any shaman. This is called dode'ŭka, to dream. My informant Nancy, who in her youth was on the way to becoming a shaman, had at least this power before she was deprived of her spirits (see above). The spirits talk to the clairvoyant; among her spirits was a bear.

Lost articles are found through the dog spirit. The people are lined up in two opposing rows—an excellent psychological expedient for discovering guilt—while the shaman passes along searching for the suspect. He sees the stolen object shine in the thief's upraised palm. This takes place in the open. My informant had seen this practiced once when some beads were stolen in a gambling group.

The shaman's prevision of what will happen in battle is decidedly more important. This ability is acquired through the eagle and weasel spirits, and perhaps others. During the war dance preparatory to setting out or at camp on the march, the shaman dances in front of the line of warriors, looking "through" them. He predicts who will be killed or wounded, and how the enemy will suffer. He sees them bleeding. One informant stated that those for whom disaster was predicted would not go to war, but others said this is not so and they are probably right. For example, while a mixed group of Klamath and Modoc were encamped on the way to Pit river, a Modoc shaman predicted, "If you are to be shot, then your bowstrings will snap," and the strings of two did snap.[173] Shamans accompany war parties, not only to fight, but to watch over them and cure the wounded.

CURING

755 Curing practice lacks the *mise en scène* of the winter performance held in the figure-decked shaman's lodge, for it always takes place in the patient's home. Nevertheless, it must be quite an impressive affair with its accumulating intensity as spirit after spirit is called to the assemblage, as one after the other they are charged with
[753] responsibility for the illness. Sickness in the Klamath view is due to spirit activity, the presence in the patient of an intrusive object rather than possession, and a cure (hĕswŏ'mbli or teo'ta) is effected by removing and destroying it. There is no suggestion here of soul loss as a cause of illness.

[173] Gatschet, 1:21.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

Curing is possible only through certain spirits, including the fish 755
hawk, falcon, golden eagle, buzzard, magpie, crow, weasel, fisher 776
(?wa'lḳŏtcka), coyote, wolf, lizard, rattlesnake, a big sluggish snake (wŭ'mɛnŭks), and a woman spirit. Frog and her daughter, and the winds are necessary to the ceremony, but I do not know that they actually effect the cure. Other spirits were mentioned as non-curing: bear, bald eagle, clouds, thunder, lightning, sun, moon, and stars.

Shamans of standing are invited from a distance. When the 755
services of a shaman are needed, it is likely that he is to be found at home. Shamans are expected to maintain a certain amount of reserve, to lie quietly at home, especially in winter. The summoner does not enter the shaman's earth-lodge but calls down from outside, asking if the shaman is there.[173] Some woman of the household answers in the affirmative, never the shaman himself. The messenger announces his errand. If the shaman is willing to cure, the messenger stands on the roof shouting to the spirits while the shaman is getting ready. This is a long harangue calling on the spirits in the distant mountains:

ya'mŏks dakĕ'loġĭs tcŏmgi'as [539]
north earth step forward.

He calls to all the directions, every region from which a wind blows:

mowa'ksda mŭlwa'nki [539]
south get ready.

When the shaman feels that his spirits have come to him, that he is potent to cure, he is ready. Then he decks himself with his medicine outfit (mŭ'lwas),[174] flicker feathers or grizzly claws, for example, and sets out.

The shaman may refuse to go, "Do not ask me now. I have no spirit; it has gone back to the mountains." When a man loses a child, his spirit quits him when he grieves. "After a month I will talk to my spirit and get it back. I mourn now; I cry. I cannot sing and dance; my spirit has gone. Return in a month." When the messenger returns—presumably the patient holds his peace!—he asks again, "Is the shaman there? Then I come to ask you to cure as you promised." Now if the spirit does not answer the shaman, another (?) man, called saswa'kia, mounts on the lodge before sunrise and again after sunset to call to all the spirits to give their songs to the

[173] Also described by Gatschet (1:68–69, 71).

[174] If Gatschet's derivation is correct the word means "what is prepared" (2:221).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

755 shaman that he may again be powerful. The shaman tells the messenger to return that night, perhaps then the spirits will answer. At night the shaman sings several songs. "All my spirits have now returned. Go back; tell all the good singers and my speaker, for now I have strong power to cure."

The man returns to say that the shaman is coming. They hang the doctor's fee above the recumbent patient; a rope to represent a horse, or a blanket and beads. The shaman does not name his fee, but he doubtless gauges his efforts by what he sees offered. Before he begins he says that he will cure in two nights, or that they had better fetch another shaman for he is powerless to cure this patient, or that the patient has been poisoned by another shaman and he is not sure of a cure.

He brings his wife to sing, for a shaman's wife is generally a good, loud singer. If they want one or two more to help him besides such relatives as know the songs, they pay them blankets, etc. These are individuals who can sing and talk loudly to the spirits. There is one in particular, called hămto'mgis, who prompts the spirits, shouting to them to excite them to work for the shaman. If the shaman's speaker is not available, he will take anyone who is willing to serve.

The patient always lies with his head toward the east, the shaman sits or kneels at his feet, the speaker near his shoulders. The singers sit back of the shaman, the prompter near-by. There is no dancing during a cure. Children are excluded. Apparently the curing normally takes place at night, but it may continue into the following day. If it takes place in a dome-shaped mat-lodge during the day, the smokehole is covered to shut out the light. Baskets of parched and ground pond-lily seed in the form called enŏps are provided.[175]

The general plan of the performance is first a series of songs to call the spirits to work through the shaman's person; these spirit helpers then tax other spirits with causing the sickness in a second set of songs; finally the shaman tells what he has seen and sucks out the sickness.

The prompter first commands the spirits to come to the shaman. The first he calls is Frog, for this is the principal spirit,[176] and Frog makes the shaman call all the other spirits.

[539] a'tikĕslike'wŏp wasi e'itcŏmgi's
Now you should stand there inside [the house].

[175] Curing is briefly described by Gatschet (1:71–72).

[176] I am not altogether satisfied that other Klamath, besides my informants Nancy and Tom, would have said that Frog is the principal spirit.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

765

Then the frog in the person of the shaman sings about the moving of the pond-lily seed upon the surface of the water as it boils.[177]

[539]

tĕnĕko·gi'so tĕnĕko·
moving (?)

Frog's daughter is next called, singing:

stai'las aino'liota'mpga
pond-lily seed mush looking at it.
ko'lamwĕ'as liota'mpga
Frog's child looking at it.

These two spirits then step out ready; other spirits follow standing there behind them. They are thought of as standing with one foot forward ready for action.

The shaman sings all night. From time to time the prompter shouts to the spirits to help him. The shaman halloos to his distant spirits, throwing his head back and muffling his shouts with the back of his clenched hand. Whatever the shaman sings or says, the speaker repeats. The singers (wino'tnis) follow the spirit songs. There is no drumming or rattling with these songs.

Now a spirit talks through the shaman from far away:

[539]

teŏkna'slak nasĭskwasi galĕ'ks ala'hi
Now tell me tell me inside; dying show me.

Various spirits are named to find the offender.

teaka'ni igĕ'ngi dakŏ'newis i'adakŏ'newis
Now you are the one, this earth. you, this earth [that gave the sickness].

As he talks the shaman covers his eyes with his hands, or rather the wrists cover the eyes, the hands are extended prone. This is called amĕtdŏ'nwa. Again the spirit challenges:

[539]

i'agĕngi laki'wltcis
You are the one, chief of the winds.

And again,

tca' i'angĕngi ke'lalŏmwe'as
Now you are the one Earth's child,

by which he means the spirit snake. So he runs through the gamut of suspected spirits. If it is this one, Earth's child, it will have to give up the patient so that he can recover. The shaman's spirit says:

[539]

ita'lgĕngi'pka ke'lalŏmwe'as
You are the one who gave the sickness, Earth's child.

[177] This is an esoteric reference; it is not cooked during the ceremony.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

755

If it is the shaman's fish hawk or buzzard spirit who discovers this, it threatens the snake. It tells him that he will be picked up from the ground and destroyed, unless he lets the patient go. The snake is frightened and gives him up.

The shaman begins to suck when he sees with spirit eyes where the sickness is located. He never asks for symptoms; he can see. As a matter of fact, he probably knows all about the case, for an illness sufficiently serious to call in a shaman is undoubtedly a standard subject of gossip. Before he sucks, he sticks his finger into water and sucks it. Then he bites the body hard and sucks, crying "wann...." while another responds "haa...." as long as he can hold his breath. He really sinks his teeth in, drawing blood as he sucks. (My informant Nancy's head was once bitten.) This is called ha'nsna. It is the spirit who bites with the shaman's mouth and only certain spirits can do this: fish hawk, buzzard, falcon, magpie, crow, and weasel. Magpie and crow in particular draw bad blood from the patient's body. On the other hand, the shaman does not suck when using a nameless female spirit, but cures by stepping over the patient. He interrupts the sucking from time to time to let the spirit talk. He utters his words rapidly and incoherently, while the speaker repeats and interprets.

When the shaman finally draws the sickness out, his head goes back, his eyes close, and blood streams from his mouth. If they want to know what it is, he lets someone feel it on his tongue or spits it into his own palm. The fish hawk spirit is stingy and sometimes refuses to let them see it. This is always something tiny: a bug, the nail of a frog, or the frog itself, a snake, a rattlesnake fang, or a red-shafted flicker feather. When they have felt it on his tongue, the shaman, representing the spirit, eats it.[178] I was told that after showing it, the shaman (especially a woman shaman) has someone strike him five times on the back with a basket, but I do not know what the point is. Instead of showing anything the shaman may simply tell what is the trouble. If a very young child is sick, the shaman may tell the parents that it is because they did not take care of themselves but dreamed of something evil. Gatschet records a shaman's statement, for example: "Therefore this patient was hurt because his mother ate too soon after dreaming. Then this patient turned his face to the spirit land."[179]

[178] Ga'schet says the shaman's speaker swallows it (1:68–69).
[179] *Op. cit.*, 1:158.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

755

One method for forecasting the recovery of the patient is to tie thin nettle cords around his head, each thigh, and upper arm, the free ends being held by as many men. The shaman strikes each cord with a basket. Unless they are all broken the patient is lost.

A patient who has suffered a relapse is cured with the spider song, according to Gatschet's informant. To paraphrase his text slightly:

> Then the spider treats him; a piece of deer skin is the spider's curing tool. Then by means of that deer skin he treats him; he cuts out a piece of the deer skin just the size of the spot where the suffering is located. Then the spider song is started while applying that piece of skin. Then he stretches a blanket over it and they strike it with shaman's arrows (hănă'sish) so that it enters the body. First a particle enters, then it becomes part of the body and now that piece of skin looks dark. Then after so many days that black thing at last looks like flesh.[100]

In the interludes of curing the shaman tells everyone to leave. He remains sitting in the lodge with the patient, silent, eyes closed, and smoking. His pipe has an unusually long wooden stem wrapped with a rattlesnake skin; the bowl is the usual clay or stone affair. (Possibly some shamans use tubular pipes.) It is lit by the speaker who is warned not to inhale the smoke else a spirit will hurt him.

The shaman may also go into a sweat-lodge for communion with his spirits, probably only when curing in the daytime. The shaman and his speaker are alone in the lodge; others wait outside to sing with him. When he comes out, he sucks the patient.

How long the shaman continues his exertions is indeterminate. If the patient is very sick, he sings until midnight or morning. Sometimes the shaman announces that his spirit has told him that the patient must be "doctored" for two nights; otherwise the sick man's relatives must decide. Payment is made only if the cure proves a success; should he die within a month or two the shaman must return the whole amount. While I received no hint that a shaman is mercenary, the size of the proffered fee must figure in his decision. Fifty years ago the usual payment was twenty or twenty-five dollars in cash or an equivalent of clothing, blankets, beads, or horses. Ten or twenty fathoms of beads is the amount. Twenty dollars or one good horse secured his services for one or two nights. A man who has none of these gives a canoe, a suit of elk-skin armor, or even food, and if his only riches are marriageable daughters, he presents one of these to the shaman.

[100] Gatschet (1:72-73) assumes that the buckskin is actually inserted under the patient's skin but I do not understand this to be the case from the text.

[114]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

755 Shamans never practice in concert. If one fails another is called. If the first discovers that another shaman is responsible for the illness, the relatives will insist on the accused making a cure, if they do not kill him forthwith, which is much more likely.[101] I was not told that a consistently unsuccessful shaman is killed, but it is very probable that he would be accused of witchcraft unless he retired from the field confessing his lack of power.

A shaman of du'kwa named Lĕ'ˈl'wis was thought by the people of iuˈˈlaloʒ to have bewitched one of their people who died. Later when another was sick they sent for him pretending their need. They slew him with an axe.[102]

[276] Coville observes that "the dried root stocks [of the blue flag or iris (ghä'-gum läk'-ō, *Iris missouriensis* Nutt.)] are sometimes used by medicine men as a smoking material, mixed with white camas [wild parsnip?], *Zygadenus venenosus*, and a little tobacco, to give a person a severe nausea, in order to secure a heavy fee for making him well again."[103]

752 It is distinctly unusual to find that among the Klamath the shaman
756 also figures in curing practice of a non-shamanistic, matter-of-fact variety. Blood is sucked from wounds and ostensibly from fractures; this is one reason for his accompanying a war party. The songs for this are those of buzzard and coyote, who eat carrion, of the wolf, mosquito, fly, horsefly, or any animal or insect that feeds on human blood and flesh. The patient is then usually turned over to a layman for further care. A fracture is treated by applying a cautery all around the spot, smearing the limb with pine pitch and wrapping it with wide strips of buckskin. Wooden splints are not used, nor sweating as a cure. Wounds are dressed with poultices of plants known to some of the older people. One informant said that only wounds in the limbs were dressed, but this is improbable.

Endjla'yukts (the father of my informant Nancy) received an arrow wound in an arm during a feud. Although he was himself a shaman, he did not attempt to treat himself, but called on Ĕkts'as, the shaman who was serving as the spiritual guardian of this war party. The latter pulled out the arrow, applied a poultice made of the leaves of an unidentified plant, and bound the arm. The wounded man eventually died of this wound.

Wounds made by a grizzly bear are treated by a shaman who has the songs of a huge spirit grizzly. The shaman prances about in imitation of the bear, palms raised in front of his shoulders to represent

[101] Gatschet cites a case (1:68-69).
[102] The revenge taken by his son Kŏ'ḳdinks is described above.
[103] Coville, Notes, 93.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

752
756

the fore paws. He wears neither a bear skin nor claws. This is the information of Pat Kane, but Nancy Phillips when asked about this scouted the idea. The only one wounded by a bear so far as she knew was a shaman, Poketdjŏ'tk, who cured himself of a black bear bite. It is of course possible that he had the song of the black bear unknown to her.

There are no special rattlesnake shamans, but a shamanistic cure for the bite was described. While Jim Jackson was in the Modoc country a rattler struck him in the finger leaving a fang in it. He neither killed the snake nor cut open the wound as is customary. The fang traveled up into his arm, which swelled and began to be spotted like the snake. Poketdjŏ'tk sang one or two songs and sucked out the tooth in a short time. He showed it to everyone after spitting it into his palm. It was minute and fine as a hair; one could not see it well. Next morning Jim, having recovered, paid a horse. This took place by day. This shaman also sucked a fang from the foot of another injured man. So far as Nancy knew, he was the only one who ever cured these bites and what spirit he used she did not know. The rattlesnake is the spirit of many shamans but they do not know how to cure snake bites.

752

There is a quasi matter-of-fact procedure for the bites, however. The flesh is cut away around the wound or gashed to the bone. It is then wrapped with a fresh snake skin. Lo'lŏklls (Pat Kane's father) saved his sister in this fashion, a rattler having struck her instep. She recovered immediately. No tourniquet is used. Men tie the rattles of snakes they kill to their hair, women do not.

755

There is a flat-topped mountain called seolŏpgĭs, probably that southwest of Wocus bay on the western side of Klamath lake, on which is a pond where persons ailing from skin trouble and other illnesses are brought. They are laid in the pond so that the water bugs may eat the disease.

A shaman's treatment for sore eyes described to Gatschet is putting a mixture of charcoal into the eyes, together with a louse "to make it eat up the protruding portion of the sore eye."[144]

It is desirable to record other medical practices here although no shaman is involved. The cautery is in frequent use; all my informants have deep burns on the temples or arms. Two or more sagebrush pellets (slklŏ'klŭs) are lighted and placed on the spot that pains. For rheumatism, for example, they are placed beside the

[144] *Op. cit.*, 1:71–72.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

patella. One is allowed to burn completely; when the other is half-consumed the sufferer destroys it with a pinch and throws it away, telling it to carry off the pain. The dry bark of the black sage is used for this, chewed and shaped into conical pellets. One informant showed me some prepared from the sage-brush bands used by mourning women and deposited in the trees, which he had gathered. Another informant denied that such bands alone are used.

Rheumatism is also treated with skunk grease rubbed into the affected part and the flesh of the animal eaten.

Earache, deafness, and hemorrhage of the ear are treated by the application at night of poultices of cooked wild parsnip root.

Toothache is kima'dj p'an, ant eats, or literally dŭt ansma'sx. It is so called because on breaking an extracted tooth they find in it a little worm with a black head, believed to be the larva of the ant, which has been eating the tooth. The sufferer rests his aching face on a stout stick, a paddle for instance, while he sleeps. Some one strikes the paddle a sharp rap; the sleeper is frightened and the aching gone. Pat Kane ascribed this to the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division (ă'ukekni) alone. The river-mouth people's (du'kwakni) method is to chew a bit of rotten fish, holding it on the aching tooth. The cure of the Pelican bay group (gu'mbŏtkni) is a cautery over the spot "breaking the tooth." Nancy denied the last two methods. Teeth are never extracted.

The Klamath used dog flesh in order to avoid smallpox (gotḳ!ŏks, erupting) on at least one occasion. This was during a winter before the birth of my informants, now in their seventies. Many died because they had so few dogs. Ordinarily dog flesh is avoided, but on this occasion the flesh was eaten and the grease rubbed on the body. Considering the date[165] it may well be that this was a cure learned from French half-breeds on the Columbia.

For mumps, the root of a plant called sḳŏsnḳŏtkgla'ks is rubbed on the swelling. (This waist-high plant grows near the river, is blue topped, with large green leaves.) Mumps has no native name because of its recency.

For colds the root of the yayo'ḳak plant, found in the mountains, is chewed and swallowed. A poultice of this is also applied to a swelling, then covered with pitch.

[165] Powers states that about 1847 smallpox killed 150 Modocs (Tribes of California, 254). This is the widespread epidemic of that date which led to the Cayuse uprising against the Whitman mission in southeastern Washington (Hodge, Handbook of American Indians, 1:224). Taylor mentions its presence on the Humboldt and Bear rivers, Nevada, prior to 1853 (Taylor, Oregon Bound, 147, 155).

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

533 I feel that many of his translations are far from the point, but I do
114 not know enough to correct them. The numbers in parentheses refer to the page and number in Gatschet's work.

539 *Fire dance (wa'hla) songs?*
In flames I am enveloped (154, 8).
I am now wrapped in flames (166, 26).

Songs referring to various items of the shaman's outfit (mā'lwas).
This scoop is my instrument, that tool used on the lake[189] (167, 34).
This is my medicine arrow (164, 3).
The pipe is my instrument, that tool used for tobacco[190] (167, 33).
I the shaman's pole [wa"las] am shaking to and fro (170, 66).
Planks [covering the lodge?] are rattling (155, 18).
This is my song, that of the sweat-lodge stick-hole[191] (168, 45).
So looks the yellowhammer medicine-decoration;
The otter is my equipment; the otter skin neckband is my equipment (167, 30).
I the neckband am medicine-equipment; I the neckband am a spirit [or song] (168, 40).
Thus I walk when I tie up the hair (165, 9).
I will pull a rope from my entrails[192] (165, 11).

Songs referring to anthropomorphic spirits.
I the shai'kish [teakia'k] tramp[193] (169, 52).
Teakia'k is my song [or spirit]; thunder is my song [or spirit] (169, 53).
I the ghost lean on a staff (168, 38).
Bones only I rattle (157, 44).
I the woman am painted black on the body[194] (158, 51).
My dew claws are rattling (166, 17).
Dew claws are my medicine-outfit[195] (166, 21).
In quill-fringed buck-skin dressed (154, 6).
I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellow-hammer and devour them (154, 10).
Quick! make ye eyes for me! (154, 11).
In the fog I am straying blind; all over the earth I am wandering[196] (157, 40).

---

[189] Or the lake is my instrument.

[190] Or tobacco is my instrument.

[191] I do not know what Gatschet means by the "stick-hole."

[755] [192] "Feigning to draw a rope or string from their posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear" (Gatschet, 1:171). I was not told of this and it sounds more like a shamanistic trick than a curing practice.

[114] [193] Gatschet says "shai'kish is another name given to the tch'akiuks" and this is a "song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tch'akiuka." The following song, wherein he translates ta'aking as little boy clearly indicates that the reference here is to Teakia'k, the little boy spirit which lives in water.

[194] Gatschet implies that this refers to a woman dancer, but it is as likely that it is a woman spirit.

[114] [195] Gatschet says of these two songs "Conjurer's rattles are made of deer's
[756] claws" and "this song of a female conjurer or 'doctress' . . . ." (1: 172). But deer-claw rattles are used only in a girl's puberty dance; shamans use none at all. I interpret these songs to be those of a woman spirit, like the one which precedes them and perhaps the one to follow.

[534] [196] The first two of these three songs are those of "the blind medicine girl" according to Gatschet and the third that of "the blind girl." I assume a spirit is referred to.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

787 experiences with it. Power may also come involuntarily, when a dreamer hears a spirit song. There is no obligation to accept, but resistance brings illness.

796 The midwinter month (December-January) has a curious place in the Klamath calendar. While a shaman must of necessity evoke his 756 spirit to cure or foretell at any time of the year, this is the period when every shaman feels called on to exhibit his powers. The novice shaman also waits for this time to give a public test of his possession, and only after this does he attempt to cure. These seances are solely for displaying power, manifested by the songs and a series of feats. During these performances, those among the audience who have spirits also sing their own songs if the spirit impels. In other words, the midwinter month is the period *par excellence* when spirits regularly resume contact with their communicants.

[535] The essential of the winter seance is a dance by the shaman as close [372] as possible to a huge fire in order to call his spirits to assist him in the feats that follow. These are stereotyped tricks, of which two, swallowing fire and arrowheads, are the test of the novice. Other tricks are of the type of making things appear and disappear.

A few other details should be mentioned here. There is an assistant at this performance, a layman, who repeats the shaman's words. Food brought to the seance is thought first to be eaten by a frog spirit, and until she has eaten no one may touch it. The performance takes place in the shaman's own dwelling.

[789] Weather control, like the display of powers at the midwinter seances, offers an opportunity for shamanistic rivalry. Clairvoyance appears in connection with the war dance preparatory to an expedition, and, curiously, the shaman accompanies the party to continue his clairvoyant function, and, what is still more unique, to serve as surgeon.

753 Illness is the result of the intrusion of something foreign, usually a spirit and commonly the spirit of a malignant shaman. A cure con- • 755 sists in extracting a tiny object which is either the disease itself or embodies it. The curing procedure is highly formalized: spirit after spirit is invoked to search the patient, beginning always with the Old Frog Woman, until the culpable spirit is found. The shaman's familiars are thought to stand beside him ready to assist. When he succeeds in sucking out the disease object he swallows it, while blood streams from his mouth.

*171 Very little of this is unique with the Klamath, as we may see by 756 comparison with the shamanistic complex of neighboring peoples.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

needle of glass. The Wintun "pain" is a spirit missile, a flint or obsidian arrowpoint, and like its Yuki analogue, is dispatched to cause illness. The Yuki "pain" is an invisible obsidian point. The object which the Sacramento Valley Maidu shamans insert into the novice to see if he can get it out, is neither a disease object nor the embodiment of power, yet is obviously related to these; an invisible double-pointed object as long as the finger. The disease objects of the Northeastern Maidu are not described in this fashion, but they have the animate, personal character of the "pains" elsewhere. Southern Maidu initiates are "killed" with a "piece of medicine" a half inch long. No description is available from Yurok and Hupa.[471]

It is unfortunate that the term "pains" has crept into the literature to describe things which, it seems to me, are not related to these concepts. Thus, the "pains" of the Takelma are neither substitutes for spirits nor have they personality. Of the Sinkyone, it is recorded: "Ordinary disease was cured by sucking out of the body the *sinsing* or material 'pains.'" In neither case do these differ one whit from the disease objects of peoples outside this area. The case is somewhat different for Achomawi-Atsugewi: the "pain" is described as "a small black thing, like a bit of horse-hair" which a shaman sucks out in a cure, but "the 'pains' grow in size and strength by killing people. If the shaman does not catch the 'pain' when it returns to him after killing the person it has been shot into, he loses all control over it, and it goes about killing people of its own initiative. This is the cause of epidemics." This closely resembles the Northeastern Maidu concept.[472]

The inaugural dance of California is of considerable proportions only among Yurok, Hupa, Shasta, and Northeastern Maidu, and as such is comparable to the Klamath affair. On the other hand those of the more southerly peoples seem relatively unpretentious: Sinkyone, Yuki, Northern Pomo, northerly Wintun, Maidu of the Sacramento valley, and Southern Maidu.

The Shasta performance has been described above. The Yurok novice dreams of a dead shaman who puts a "pain" in her body. A dance is made in the sweat-house for ten days during which she dances under the direction of older shamans. The "pain" is induced to leave her body and is re-swallowed, thus demonstrating control. She

[471] Kroeber, Handbook, 111, 197–199 302, 361; Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 562; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 268, 280; Gifford, Southern Maidu, 244.

[472] Sapir, Religious Ideas of the Takelma, 42; Kroeber, Handbook, 150; Dixon, Some Shamans, 25, Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi, 218.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

similar to the Klallam-Sound Salish affairs. These likewise are held only or primarily in midwinter, that is, from December to March. Potlatching on this occasion is represented by some trifling gifts made by the singers. It is not clear that the man who rises to sing his spirit song at this time is repossessed, but it is suggested by a statement I recorded that when the auditors heard their songs sung, they "became like fire inside, wild," offering bits of flesh to be cut off. The guardian spirit dance of the Nez Percé closely parallels this performance. This appears again among the Lillooet, and it may be that Teit's reference to the "manitou dance" of the middle Columbia Salish refers to a similar affair. (These people formerly occupied the territory between the Wishram and Nez Percé.)[478] A Wasco analogue may be reflected in a tale describing just such a singing and dancing festival among the animals; each of the five nights they dance closer to the flames.[479] This is similar to the Klamath practice of dancing as close as possible to the fire, which I know is also the custom among Puget Sound groups, hence may have been universal in these performances.

There is a suggestive connection with these northern ideas in the Alsea custom of telling traditions in one month alone, January, and never again during the year.[480]

It is significant that the novice among Klamath and Shasta waits until winter for his inaugural dance. Among the latter this is the period in which the candidate is most likely to be possessed: "doctors generally begin their dreams and dancing early in the winter, as it is then that the Axeki [spirits] are always about the camp."[481]

If then the Klamath winter performance is construed as related to northern rites, by reason of its time, and the repossession of both shaman and layman, it is unique in one respect. I have been unable to find that elsewhere there are such regularly recurring opportunities for shamanistic display. To be sure, these occur elsewhere and quite widely, but not as regimented performances fixed as to time.

The Shaman's Assistant

The Klamath shaman regularly employs an assistant who serves as interpreter of his rushing mumbled speech. Similarly, at both winter performances and while curing, a second individual is selected to call the spirits and prompt them to act.

[478] Spinden, Nez Percé, 262–264; Teit, Lillooet, 286, The Middle Columbia Salish, 98, 128.

[479] Sapir, Wishram Texts, 311–312, cf. 95–99, 129–131.

[480] Farrand, Alsea, 245.

[481] Dixon, Some Shamans, 24.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 • 755 756 Elsewhere in the area from the Columbia river into northern California the shaman is provided with an assistant of this type. He participates, however, only in curing ceremonies. At the southern fringe of the area his functions fuse with those of the clown attendant in secret society performances. On the other hand, in western Washington he is not an interpreter or repeater of speeches, but serves purely as a lay assistant.

[114] The Modoc assistant comes nearest to the Klamath in type. Meacham refers to him as an orator who repeats loudly the shaman's speeches and who supports the shaman novice while dancing. Since the specific reference to him is in connection with the novice's dance, we may presume that he regularly accompanies the shaman in all his operations.[483]

Takelma, Wishram, and Achomawi assistants function during a cure like those of the Klamath, repeating the shaman's incoherent speech. A shamanistic dance, purely for display, occurs among the Wishram, but I did not learn that an assistant of the Klamath type had any part in it. This appears, however, among the foothill group of Northern Maidu, where, while a shaman shows his ability to commune with the spirits, a layman "apes the shaman in everything, repeats after him everything he says, and in every way tries to make the spectators laugh. It is considered a compliment to laugh, and a sign of appreciation." This "clown" has also full rein at the ceremonial for the dedication of a new dance house. Powers reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats every utterance of a shaman during his performance. This may refer to a clown like that of the Northern Maidu or to an assistant who helps at a cure.[484] There is no trace of the clown in the dances of the Northeastern Maidu, but he appears again in the performances of the Sacramento valley branch. He is speaker for the dance leader, mimics the words and actions of the dancers, and attempts to make the spectators laugh by his antics. Such clowns appear regularly in Kuksu cult dances among other Sacramento valley peoples and are known as far south as the central and southern Yokuts.[485]

In the region west and north of the Wishram, shamans have assistants of a sort but they are not speakers. For example, the Chinook

[483] Meacham, Wi-ne-ma, 129–136.

[484] Powers, Tribes of California, 334.

[485] Sapir, Religious Ideas of Takelma, 43; Angulo, Religious Feeling, 356, Psychologie religieuse, 568–569, 574–577; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 271, 286, 295, 311–318, 322; Kroeber, Handbook, 383.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

shaman who seeks to recover the soul of a sick man uses "a manikin made of wood and cedar bark. When a conjurer wants to make use of this manikin he gives it to a person who has no guardian spirit, who shakes it for him, and they two go to the country of the ghosts." Boas states that this type of cure was derived by the Chinook from the Chehalis. Such sticks, carved and painted with reference to their guardians, and here described as manikins, are common property to those with spirit helpers from Oregon northward. When a Quinault shaman goes to cure, he is regularly accompanied by an aid who holds and rattles his carved stick. Here again illness is due to soul loss but there is no journey to the land of the dead.[485]

In quite another direction the Pomo appear with an assistant for the curing shaman. He shakes the shaman's rattle and sings his songs. As Kroeber remarks, the appearance of an assistant in this quarter is unusual, and in the present state of our knowledge not connected by distribution with the instances cited above.[486]

One cannot escape the impression that this provision of a speaker for the shaman is linked with the chief's spokesman of many tribes of the west. The Northwest Coast type of spokesman is known as far south as the Wishram on the Columbia and perhaps in coastal Oregon. In the Basin, from eastern Washington to northern Arizona, there is word-for-word repetition of formal speeches. There is no chief's speaker in the intervening area from Wishram to Maidu, but there is for the shaman. When we realize that in this region, chiefs are socially eclipsed by shamans, we may well argue that a substitution has taken place. Objection may be made, however, that this is equally true in the Basin, where, so far as we know, shamans do not have speakers.

Accessory Elements

The distribution of analogues of the Klamath shamans' feats is quite irregular, to judge by the few notes I have collected, but this is undoubtedly due to incompleteness of information. Merely to put these on record, I present them here.

The Klamath shaman swallows fire; so does the Lillooet and Thompson. Live coals are eaten by Quinault secret society performers,

[485] Boas, Doctrine of Souls, 40, Chinook Texts, 207; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1925.

[486] Handbook, 258.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

Maidu of the Sacramento valley may kill merely by letting his shadow fall on his victim. A Klamath cannot pass in front of a shaman nor drop something in front of him, else the shaman suffers a hemorrhage. Similarly a Kwakiutl apparently does not pass behind an eating shaman, else he too has a hemorrhage. The Wishram shaman, angry with one who endangers him by passing behind or startling him, may bewitch in revenge. A Cowichan of the mainland group will not let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, for the latter may seize the chance to replace his own lost soul. Similarly the Lillooet avoid letting their shadows fall on a shaman or standing in his, for fear of consequences. The Thompson, too, will not let his shadow fall on a shaman (the reverse is not harmful), and dares not startle him nor eat meat without inviting him to share it.[498]

Clairvoyance

Prediction is a widespread, if not universal, ability of shamans. A somewhat unique form among the Klamath is that at the dance preceding the departure of a war party. The shaman dances in front of the warriors in order to discover those who will be wounded: he sees them bleeding. He also accompanies the party to watch over them and cure wounds. Something of the same sort is noted for the Modoc. This also seems to take place among the Chinook: "before the people go to war they sing. If one of them sees blood, he will be killed in battle." Perhaps this is general in the northwest; at any rate Goddard observes of the Northwest Coast at large: "Every war party includes a shaman who by his supernatural knowledge warns of danger and points out favorable times and places for attacks. The shaman, by catching or destroying the souls of the enemy, makes the killing of their bodies an easy matter."[499]

As I have pointed out it is unusual that the Klamath shaman treats wounds and fractures by matter-of-fact methods. But this has also been noted of the Achomawi. Angulo thinks this true only since the advent of the whites, but it is surely an old practice of the Klamath.[500]

The practice of freeing a locality or village of disease, dispatched there by a malevolent shaman, is probably more common than I have

[498] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 269; Boas, Ethnology of the Kwakiutl, 730; Lower Fraser River, 9; Teit, Lillooet, 288; Thompson Indians, 361.

[499] Gatschet, 1:21; Boas, Chinook Texts, 270; Goddard, Indians of the Northwest Coast, 119.

[500] Angulo, Psychologie religieuse, 571.

1:Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930 NR 10 Klamath NR 10
(ca. 1860-1900)

*171 755 been able to discover. At any rate, I note it for Achomawi-Atsugewi and Shasta, as well as Klamath. Following the usual shamanistic seance the Klamath shaman searches the vicinity for the malevolent spirit. He rushes about until he falls, blood streaming from his mouth. Several men must support him by the arms and restrain him until he can destroy it in water. The Achomawi-Atsugewi shaman forces the disease out of the ground by his power and then seizes it. He staggers about in his effort to hold it until he can plunge it into water. He then swallows or burns it, or dispatches it to kill its sender. The Shasta erect a shaman's pole at the affected spot. The shaman dances, calling on her spirit to dislodge the disease "pains" from the ground. "If the shaman's guardian is successful, he succeeds in pushing the pains into the river, and drowns them." Certain features of a Chinook cure are like these. When their shaman has taken a disease from a sick man, he must be held by several men to overcome the strength of the disease spirit, until he can plunge it into water.[861] The destruction of an extracted disease by placing it in water is a common feature among Washington tribes. I have seen it, for example, as part of a cure by members of the pseudo-Christian sect of Shakers among the Skokomish and learned that it occurred among the Okanagon.

Various Beliefs

*171 763 756 821 I have a somewhat random series of analogues of Klamath beliefs. The Klamath hold that a storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned. The Northern Maidu hold that it thunders at once when a great man dies, and inasmuch as the most important individuals of the Maidu are shamans, it is clear that this is a comparable belief. The Thompson have it that the death or burial of a person causes an immediate change in the weather; that of a shaman, a sudden and extreme change. The death of a Wind River Shoshoni causes a whirlwind.

*171 821 844 These beliefs are apparently a single expression of a more general belief that both births and deaths are signaled by a change in the weather. For example, the Klamath also hold that it always blows at a woman's first parturition. Analogous to this the Wishram say that extreme weather marks a birth. Further, a rainbow points to the spot where the birth takes place. The latter belief at least is

[861] Dixon, Notes on the Achomawi, 219, Shasta, 487; Boas, Chinook Texts, 208.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

*171 Wooden images are unique in the non-woodworking culture of Klamath and
756 Modoc, yet this too is traceable southward from the same center.[1] It is
532 far less certain that clairvoyance in connection with a war party is derived from that source, yet the trait is shared by the northern coastal people.

*171 Some elements are local in the Oregon-north California interior.
• 755 Such is the shaman's assistant, his mouthpiece and interlocutor. He
756 is present at cures from Wishram to Achomawi; present at seances from Klamath to Southern Maidu. For some of the Maidu he is a clown, which links him with the clown among the Kuksu impersonators of central California. There is reason to think that this functionary is historically connected with the chief's speaker known from the Northwest Coast through the interior to the Southwest. Other local elements are the pole having spirit reference (Klamath to Northern Maidu), the notion that food is first eaten by the spirits (Takelma, Shasta, Klamath), the ridding of a locality of disease (Klamath, Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi).

*171 Other elements, while local, are somewhat more widely distributed.
756 There is the circumspection with respect to the shaman's shadow and
[821] to startling him; the notion that weather changes at birth and death: all these are common from southern British Columbia to the Maidu, largely through the interior.

* 171 The Klamath shamans' dress bears some imprint of northern and
756 central Californian influence in the use of woodpecker scalp head-
292 bands and of yellowhammer feathers. Both are characteristic dance
237 regalia in the south; on the Oregon border they have passed over to the shamans.

*171 In broad perspective Klamath shamanism is of generalized,
756 undifferentiated North American type, sharing some features that are local, and but moderately influenced from the Northwest Coast and the central and northwestern foci of California. Its general nature is recognizable in the quest and the undifferentiated power it yields; the most marked local elements are the predisposition to inherit power, the novice dance, and the shaman's assistant. California at large appears in the dream as a vehicle of acquiring power; northern California in the dwarfs that figure among Klamath spirits; central California in the shaman's headdress. Northwest Coast influences are no stronger; repossession in midwinter and the use of carvings color Klamath shamanism only mildly.

[1] [i.e., the Northwest Coast.—Analyst]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	⅗	⅗	6	-	-	¾	⅗	5	¾	5	⅗	⅗
2089. Used by shaman in curing	•	-	-	-	•	•	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2101. For Ghost dance	-	-	R	-		R		R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	-	25	6	20	1	2	4	-	-
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2111. Basket rattle	-	•	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-	•	-
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	R	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	+	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2124. Musical bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	-	•	+	•	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
2133. Bone	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	+	+	+	-	+
2134. Bird or rodent	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	R	R	•	+	-	+	-	-	+
2135. Large mammal	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	R	-	-	-	+	+	-
2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Naming																
3306. Child named at, soon after, birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	°	-	-	°	-
3307. Child named up to 6 months after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3308. Child named after 1 year plus	+	°	+	°	+	°	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
3309. Child named around puberty	-	-	-					+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3310. Named by father	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
3311. Named by mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
3312. Girl baby named by mother's mother	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
3313. Boy baby named by father's father	+	+	+	+			+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
3314. Child named by any near relative	+	+	-	°				+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3315. Child named by relative or nonrelative	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3316. Names meaningful	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
3317. Names meaningless	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
3318. Names duplicated during lifetime 2 people	-	-	+	-	-	(-)	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	°
3319. Name "given away"	-	-	°	.						°	-	-	-	-	-	-
3320. Names dreamt	-	+	-		+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3321. Naming after grandparents, other relatives	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	.	+
3322. After death of relative only	-	-	-	+		-	-	+	+	+	-	+	(-)	+	.	-
Mutilations																
3323. Ears pierced	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	°	+
3324. Soon after birth	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3325. Prepuberty	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	+
3326. Around or after puberty	+	-	+	+	+	°	°	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
3327. Obligatory for all boys and girls	-	+	-	°	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3328. Girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
3329. Virgins only	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	°	-	-
3330. Done by older relative	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	.	°
3331. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
3332. Done by good or "powerful" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	°
3333. To make child good-tempered	-	+	+				-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3334. For "fun" or style; to display wealth	+	-	+	+						+	-	-	-	+	+	.
3335. For good fortune	-	-	-								+	-	°	-	-	.
3336. Dance follows	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3337. Nasal septum pierced	R+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
3338. Soon after birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
3339. Prepuberty	R+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3340. At or around puberty	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	°	-	-
3341. Any time	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	-	-	-	-	-	-
3342. Men and women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
3343. Obligatory for all	-	+	+	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3344. All girls only	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3345. Done by relative	R+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
3346. Done by skilled person	-	-	-	+	°	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3347. Done by self	-	-	-					-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3348. Boy: sent on vision quest	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3349. Girl: dance follows								-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3350. Tattooing	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	R	R	(-)	-	-	-	+
3351. Women: prepuberty	R	+	-	-	°	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
3352. Women: postpuberty, any time	R	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	R	R	R	(-)	-	-	-	+
3353. Obligatory for woman	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3354. Rare among women	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	R	R	+	-	-	-	+
3355. Men: when adult, any time	-	-	°	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
3356. Done by skilled person, usually woman	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	R	R	R	.	-	-	-	+
3357. Done by "good" person	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3358. For style only	R	-	+	°	-	+	+	-	R	R	R	.	-	-	-	.
3359. As therapeutic measure	-	-	-						°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3360. To insure longevity	-	-	-	-	°	-	-	°	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MT	NP	NM	NS	MV
Directions																
4458. 4 cardinal directions	+)	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
4459. 6 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
4460. 8 cardinal directions	–	–	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4461. Waterflow for directions	–	–	–	+.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4462. Directions indicated by place names	–	–	–	+.	+	+.	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4463. Sunrise, sunset terms for E, W	–		+	+.		+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
4464. Direction indicated by pursing lips	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
o4465. Plus twitching nose, glancing with eyes		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	±	–	–
4466. Plus hand against cheek, pointing	–	–				+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4467. Used for privacy, mainly		+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	.	–	–
4468. Direction indicated by pointing hand, finger.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Therapeutic Knowledge and Beliefs																
Therapeutic Practices																
4469. Practices for curing illnesses	+	+	+	+.	+		+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+	+
4470. Piss ants, for rheumatism, tuberculosis	+	–	+						+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4471. Drink boiled decoction of	+	–	+						–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
4472. Sit on nest of, let "water" remain on body	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4473. Cautery	+.	+	+		+.				+	+.	+	–	–		–	–
4474. If blister rises, cure will be effected	+	+	+						+	–.	+	–	–		–	–
4475. Blood letting			+.	+.	–	–	+	–	–	+.	–	–	+		+	+
4476. Cut made with flint knife			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
4477. Vapor baths, patient covered with robe	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+.	–	+	–		–	+
4478. Steaming in small steam house, mud and ashes													–		+	–
4479. Poultices	+	+							+						+	+
4480. Sucker skin, for snake bites.	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–		–	–
4481. Plant poultices with warm rock inside															+	+
4482. Smoking: wild parsnip, for headaches, colds	–		–						+	+	+.	+.	–		.	.
4483. Plant and root decoctions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4484. Datura (jimsonweed) root	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	+.
4485. Decoctions for wounds			+.								+.	.	+.		+.	.
Herb Doctoring; Beliefs Concerning Ailments																
4486. Herbalists	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4487. Informal "doctoring" only	+	+	+	+.	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+		–	–
4488. Informal and formal doctoring	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–		+	+
4489. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
4490. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4491. Mostly women	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4492. Herbalist may also be sucking shaman.	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–.	+		+	+
4493. Knowledge inherited	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
4494. Dreamt	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–.	–	–	–	–		–	–
4495. Taught free by older person	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+
4496. Taught free by doctor, to relation only													–		+.	–
4497. Formula spoken when gathering plants.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	+.
4498. Treatment private, at patient's house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MT
4499. Formula recited, before taking medicine	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	◦
4500. Disease brushed off body	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4501. Medicine administered internally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4502. Medicine administered externally	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4503. Medicine sprayed from mouth	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+		+	
4504. Herbalist can cure any disease													–		+	+
4505. Can kill disease objects	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4506. Can cure rattlesnake bites	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	+
4507. Can only weaken, check natural diseases	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+		–	–
4508. Precautions to ward off disease; incense burnt	(+)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+		+	+
4508a. Breach of taboo causes illness	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	–
4509. Eating meat in taboo period causes tuberculosis		+	+							+	+	+	+		–	–
4510. Worms in tooth cause toothache	–	–	+	◦	+	–	.	◦	+	+	+	+	+		◦	(+)
4511. Ants, spider-like bug in teeth causes toothache	+	+	–	–	–	◦	.	–	–	–	+	–	–		–	–
Beliefs Concerning Natural Phenomena																
Cosmogony																
4512. World a disk, floating in water	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	.	–	+	.	.	
4513. Supported by animal	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	.	.	–	.	.	
4514. Mythical age; animals persons	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+
4515. Chief for each species of animal	+	+	–			(+)		–	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+
4516. Flood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	(+)	.	.	.	+
4517. Human beings created or appear	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+
Sun and Moon																
4518. Sun male human	+	+	.	+	–	◦	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	(+)	.
4519. Sun female human	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	◦	–	–	.
4520. Moon male human	+	+	+	–	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	–	◦	+	(+)	.
4521. Moon female human	–	–	.	+	–	(+)	.	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.
4522. Sun and moon husband and wife	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
4523. Frog mate of moon	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	(+)	–	–	–	.
4524. Figures in moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	+	–	–	.
4525. Scar from bear's bite									+	–	–	.	–	–	–	.
4526. Man	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	.
4527. Tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	.
4528. Frog	+	◦	+	–	◦	◦	+	–	–	◦	+	–	–	–	–	–
New Moon																
4529. Monthly birth-and-death theory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.	+	◦	+
4530. All view new moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	◦	+
4531. Each month	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
4532. In winter, only											◦	–	–	–	–	–
4533. In spring, chiefly	◦	+	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
4534. Speak, pray to moon	◦	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	◦	–	–	+
4535. Address by kin term	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
4536. Old persons shake selves, clothes, bedding	–	+	◦	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4537. Throw stones at moon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
4538. Food prepared, guests invited								◦	◦	◦	+	–	+	–	+	–

755 757 278 751 753 773 821

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NW
756	4881a. Given in summer only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	½	–	–	+		–	–
535	4882. In open fire sweat house	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4883. In dwelling house	+	+	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4883a. In open	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
	4884. Shaman in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
	4885. Novice doctor dances alone	–	–	½	½	½	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4886. All shamans dance	½	+	–	½	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		(+)	–
	4887. All men except novice dance	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4888. All prepubescent boys, girls, adults dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4889. One time only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4890. Dance in 1 spot	½	+	–	–			–	–	+	–	–	–	–		.	–
	4891. Informal dance; jump around								+	+	+	–	–	–		.	–
	4892. Room dark	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4893. Small fire for light	+	+	½	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
[533]	4894. All or anyone sings	–	–	½	½	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4895. Men, women lie on back before dance; sing			–		–			+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4896. Women sing	½	+	½	½	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4897. Some men sing	+	+	½	½	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+		(+)	–
	4898. Singers kick on floor planks	+	+	½	½	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4899. Sit on stools, pieces of wood	–	–	½	½	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4900. Outside speaker calls spirits to sweat house	+	+	½		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4901. Novice(s) bleed at mouth	+	½	+	+	½	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
	4902. Fall in trance	–	–	½		+			+	+	+	–	–	+		+	–
	4903. Not touched until next morning	–	–	–		–			+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4904. Grabbed	–	–	½		–			–	–	–	–	–	+		.	–
	4905. Older shaman may deprive novice of power	½	.	½	–	–				½		–	–	–		–	–
	4906. Disease organisms fly around in air	–	–	.	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4907. Novice enters house via regular entrance	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
	4908. Novice swallows and vomits up pains	½	.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4909. Exhibits pains	+	+	½	½	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4910. Novice or doctors handle fire, hot stones	+	+	½	½	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+		+	½
	4911. Eat fire	+	+	½	½	+	+	–	–	½	+	–	–	–		.	+
	4912. Novice or doctors eat pounded obsidian	(+)	+	½	½			–	–	–	–	–	–	–		.	–
	4913. Novice can start curing immediately after dance	(+)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	½	½	–	–	½		(+)	–
[533]	4914. Novice sings in sweat house; no dancing	–	–	–	–	(+)	(+)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
	4915. Novice, in training, sings by himself	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	4916. Novice trains outside in woods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
	4917. With older shamans	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
	4918. Small fire for light	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		+	–
	4919. Bleeds at mouth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
	4920. Falls in trance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
	4921. Taught to handle fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	–
	4922. Taught use of medicines	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		+	.
	4923. For ... days and nights	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		4	–
	4924. Novice cures, helps cure patient, as part of training	+	+	(+)	½	½	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
755	Sucking Doctors: Curing Techniques																
	o4925. Treatment lasts ... nights	1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	2	3		1	1
	4926. Public, indoors	+	+	+	+	+	^	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	+

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
4927. Private, indoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	765
4928. Doctor has ... assistants	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			-	
4929. "Interpreter" for doctor while doctoring, or in trance	+		+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4930. "Outside speaker" to call doctor's spirit(s)	-		+		+			+	+	+	-	-	-			-	
4931. Friend or relative of doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+			-	
4932. Must know esoteric language	-	+	+					+	+	+	-	+	-			-	
4933. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	-		-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-			-	[776]
4934. Assistant calls doctor's spirit(s)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-			-	[787]
4935. Spirit takes possession of doctor	-	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	.			-	
4936. Doctor diagnoses by singing	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	[533]
4937. Audience joins in songs	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	+			+	[535]
4938. Doctor diagnoses by dancing	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-			-	
4939. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	[276]
4940. When trance coming on			-					+	+	+	-	+	-			-	
o4941. Blows tobacco smoke over patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+			-	
4942. Assistant lights doctor's pipe	+	-	+					+	+	+	-	+	-			-	
4943. Doctor drinks through bark tube	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	[87]
4944. Has basket cup of water beside him	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4945. Doctor uses feathers or stick	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4946. Bunch of supernatural feathers	-	+		+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4947. Eagle down	-	-	-	-	+	+	+		-	-	-	-	-			-	
4948. Eagle wing	-	-	+					-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4949. Stick	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4950. Doctor uses fire	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	[374]
4951. For light only: usually small	+	+	+		-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4952. Doctor applies ashes, clay to patient			-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4953. Doctor uses charmstone (pestle)	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4954. Brushes or fans away disease	-	+	+		+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4955. With feathers	-		+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4956. Sprays liquid from mouth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+				
4957. Administers herb medicines	-	-	-														[278]
4958. Doctor, assistant, or singers use rattle	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-				
4959. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	+	+	+				[534]
4960. Walking cane								+	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4961. Beat on plank with board			-						+	+	-	-	-			-	
4962. Whistle	-	-	+	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	+	-			-	
4963. Doctor's spirit or "pain" tells location of disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4964. Tells cause of sickness	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4965. Doctor can see or feel disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			-	
4966. Disease object ("pain") sucked out	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	
4967. Directly into doctor's mouth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	
4968. Vomited out of mouth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+			-	
o4969. Disease object removed with hand	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4970. Pus ("bad feelings") sucked out	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			-	
4971. Women doctors use same technique as men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+			-	[562]
4972. Disease object tells doctor who sent it	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4973. Disease object exhibited	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4974. Put in basket cup of water	-	+	+	+		+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-			-	
4975. Invisible to all except shamans	-	-	-						+	+	-	-	-			-	
4976. Disease object disappears	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-			+	
4977. By sleight of hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	-	+	+	+	-			-	
4978. Doctor bites it	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-				
4979. Doctor swallows it	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			-	
4980. Sent back to owner, for revenge, sometimes			+			+		+	+	+	+	+	-			-	
4981. Buried	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-					-	
4982. Blown away			-					+	+	+	-	+	-			-	
4983. Burned	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-			-	

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
755	**Sucking Doctors: Payment for Curing**																
4983a.	Shaman paid for curing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4984.	Negotiated fee	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4985.	Patient, patients' relatives decide amount of fee	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4986.	Fee paid to doctor before cure	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4987.	Fee shown to doctor, who smells it			–			+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		–	–
4988.	Fee paid after cure	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
4989.	Fee set near patient during treatment	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+		–	–
4990.	Shaman's guardian spirit also "paid"	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4991. Demands skins, hides, baskets, etc.	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
	4992. Objects set up by patient during cure	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
4993.	If treatment unsuccessful, doctor tries again	+					+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–		+	
	o4994. Makes ... attempts only						3	3		3	–	–	2				
4996.	If treatment unsuccessful, fee not offered or not taken	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–	–
4996.	If treatment unsuccessful, fee returned	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–		–	+
4997.	Treatment deemed unsuccessful if patient dies	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		+	+
	4998. Within 1 to 6 months	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–		–	–
	†4999. Within ... days	10	–	–	–	–	–	10	10	10	–	–	–	20		20	20
5000.	Assistants paid same amount as doctor	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–		–	–
5001.	Assistants paid less than doctor	–	(+)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5002. Doctor pays assistant out of own fee.	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
683	5003. Doctor liable for refusing case	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	5004. May be accused of poisoning	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	5005. Liable to be killed	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+		–	–
	5006. Never decline case	–	–	–		+		+	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–
681	5007. Unsuccessful doctors killed	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+		–	–
	Sucking Doctors: Beneficent Powers Other Than Curing																
756 787	5008. Can capture "poison" sickening village							+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5009. Goes into trance					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5010. 2 men support him, when poison captured			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–		–	–
5011.	Can locate lost, stolen objects	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	(+)
5012.	Can see what is happening afar off	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5013. What will happen in future	–	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	–
	Sucking Doctors: Malevolent Practices																
756 754	5014. Shaman causes illness, death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+	
	5015. Talks to disease object (pain), sends it to victim				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5016. Disease object put in food	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+		+	–
	5017. Disease object put under victim's doorstep			–			+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–		–	–
	5018. Disease object sent to sicken entire village			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
	5019. Disease object applied to person's body	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+	–
	5020. Scorpion's tail applied to body, or person's urine													–			–
	5020a. Ashes, water, dirt thrown toward victim			+								+	+	+		+	–
	5021. Disease object pointed at victim	–	–	–	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		–	–
	5022. Thrown at victim	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–		–	–
	5023. Blown off hand at victim	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	–

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
5071. Burned at owner's death	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5072. Diagnosis by singing, rubbing patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5073. Singing, rubbing to cure patient	-	-	+		-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5074. Brushes patient	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5075. Sprinkles water from feather on patient	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5076. Sucks patient	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5077. Sprays water from mouth on patient.	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-		-	-
5078. Can foretell future events											+	+	+		-	-
5079. Performs in round house, at night											+	+	•+	•+	-	-
5080. Spirit comes and sings in dark													+	+	-	-
Soul-Loss Doctors																
5081. Soul loss doctors recognized	-	-	-	-	+	+	•+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5081a. Men	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+		-	-
5082. Women	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5083. Is also sucking doctor	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5084. Inherit power	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5085. Power through vision, dream	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5086. Instructed by older shaman, or in dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5087. Shaman sucks on head, neck	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	(+)		-	-
5088. Shaman sends own soul after lost one	-	-	-	-	•-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5089. Shaman sends guardian spirit to catch soul	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	(-)		-	-
5090. Shaman goes outside to coax soul back	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	•+	•-	-	-	+	-		-	-
5091. Sings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+		-	-
5092. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+		-	-
5093. Has ... assistants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•+	-	-	+	-		-	-
5094. Outside speaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5095. Interpreter	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5096. Spectators sing in house	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5097. Beat time with 1-2 sticks	-	-	-	-			-	+	+	+	-	-	-		-	-
5098. Doctor uses cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5099. Doctor uses bone "bull-roarer"	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5100. Soul returns through fontanelle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	+	-	-	(-)		-	-
Weather Shamans																
5100a. Weather shamans recognized	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	•-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5101. Men mostly	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5102. Both sexes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5103. Specialized profession	-	-	-	•-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5104. Weather shaman may also be curing shaman	+	+	-	•-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-		-	-
5105. Office inherited	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-		-	-
5106. Knowledge acquired by instruction	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5107. Supernatural experience required	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5108. Make rain by formula, song	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5109. Sing with spectators	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-		-	-
5110. Smoke pipe				-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5111. Motion with hands, 4 directions											+	+	-		-	-
5112. Contortions or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-		-	-
5113. Can make fog, high winds	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5114. Make rain to remove snow	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5115. Can make rain stop	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	•-	+	+	+	-		-	-
5116. Performs whenever need arises	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-		-	-
5117. Paid for performance	-	-	-	•-	-	+	R	-	-	-	-	(+)	-		-	-
5118. Bets made on outcome of	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-		-	-
5119. Rain doctors, competing, test powers										•+	-	-	-		-	-
5120. When doctor cries, rain will ensue	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+		-	-
5121. At funeral	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
5122. Thunders when doctor dies	•-	•-	-					+	+	-	+	-	+		-	-

000 object; on second he finds it (can see it); on third he removes it. Some shamans "work on patient only up to midnight, some until daylight. The Paiute work until daylight, too; the Diggers [Maidu] only 2-3 hours." WS: 1-4 nights. If shaman cannot locate pain first night of doctoring, doctor's dance held next night beside patient and thereafter for 2-3 nights; must locate pain. MM: 1-5. NF: 3-4.

4927. WS: Shaman has to be alone with patient; "other people aren't supposed to watch him, when he is doctoring."

4928. At: Also "everyone comes to help a doctor when he's treating; everyone smokes, helps him out."

4929. Mo: "Interpreter" tells what doctor is saying during curing performance. Shaman uses same interpreter every time; may be either man or woman. SW: Interpreter or "regular assistant" interprets for shaman, who repeats what guardian animal has to say. Only assistant can answer guardian animal (shaman cannot; but only shaman can hear what guardian says). The guardian animal must come to shaman's post (see element, note 4870), which has 10 different objects on it, before it will speak to shaman. AW: Services of interpreter not always necessary (cf. note 5008).

4930. Mo: "Outside speaker" (man or woman) stands outside house, shouts to shaman's spirits, "Come on; your servant wants you to come, help him." Spirits say, "Listen, they're calling us." Same outside speaker or "caller" functions for shaman for life; must "obey the doctor's medicine, just as doctor does, or else the medicine will be angry, and hurt both of them." SW: Calls guardian animal for shaman, outside; "whoops loud." This only done if curing in summer; whoop wakes the guardian spirit (who sleeps all summer); he "reaches round and gets his pipe, dusts it, and smokes; then talks to doctor, finally puts on his moccasins and goes to the doctor to help cure patient. In winter doctors don't have to call their spirits by having an assistant go and shout for them; they're all outside anyway. It's handier for a doctor to cure in winter." AW: Informant scornfully characterized "speakers" for shamans as "half-breed [new] way"; said some of AE now use them. See notes 4929, 5008. AE: Shaman's interpreter also serves as outside speaker to call shaman's "power" for him.

4933. NF: See note 5079. Dreamer, not doctor, goes into trance.

4934. NF: Clown calls spirits for dreamer, however. See note 5079.

[755] [776] [782] 4935. Kl: Doctor's spirit talks to shaman from far off; no one else hears conversation. Shaman "interprets" what his spirit has told him to people present.

4936. SW: Shaman has to tell assistant every song he sings, and from which guardian spirit it comes.

4937. Mo: Many women sing for shaman; "the more the better." AW: See note 4925.

000 4942. SW: Shaman lights own pipe if curing patient; but if she is witching victim, someone waits on her.

4946. SE: Bunch of feathers that drip blood; held in hands when doctoring. At: Shaman possesses them, but does not use them in curing (see notes 4870-4871 At).

4947. WT: See note 5206a.

4950. AW: Shaman cures in place where there is no fire; true also for deer charming rite. "A big [powerful] doctor puts the fire out in a few minutes if he knows anything."

4951. SW: Not very small fire used for light as "everyone looking on at curing performance has to show his face in light"; person is suspect of evil if he stays in dark. At: Shaman handles fire as well as using it for light. MV: Old shaman (yomi), if he thinks he is getting weak, asks after he has sucked out pain for someone to hold him over fire so he can draw pain out of his body. Otherwise small fire used for light only, when curing.

[755] 4952. Kl, Mo: Clay and ashes. SW: No clay or ashes; ashes inimical to shaman, who cannot use them. At: Clay only. Patient faces east during curing performance.

4954. SW: "A sick person seems covered 2-3 ft. deep, with a dark stuff, or sometimes a grayish stuff, like fog; doctor has to clear all this away before she can see through the patient's body and find out where the 'pain' is, who put it there and when."

4956. MV: Member secret society, when doctoring person who has dreamt about the dances, blows water on patient.

4957. WT: Shaman tells what roots to drink, especially when predicting epidemics. WM: When evil spirits (numyo; see note 5195a) are causing sickness, shaman tells people to smoke house with sunflower roots, buckeye flowers. MM, MF, MV: Shaman prescribes what roots to drink, especially for tuberculosis. NS: Shaman often prescribes herb medicines.

4958. NS: Doctor uses deer-hoof rattle.

4959. AW: "Little doctors" (singing shamans), only, use cocoon rattle; "big doctor" does not use rattle of any sort. MV: Secret society doctor only, not ordinary sucking shaman (yomi).

4966. MM: "Some pains a doctor can't suck out--not when he's young, anyway; later on he can do it, when he's older and stronger."

4970. AW: "Sometimes a person is just naturally sick [not poisoned by shaman]. A sucking doctor [in this event] sucks out only the bad feelings [pus]." MV: Sucked out day following extraction of disease object.

[755] 4973. Described variously as looking like bone, flint (Kl, Mo), icicle (SE, SW), "white thing" (At, AE), hair (AW), bone, blood, snake, flint (WT, WM, WS), inanimate or animate object such as lizard (MM, MF, NF), angleworm (MV).

4978. MV: Shaman chews disease object, and rubs it on his head, or puts it in ashes and throws it away.

5: Barrett E-5 (1907) 1910
NR 10 Klamath NR 10
Modoc NS17

Another stone implement is the single-grooved, flat-bottomed arrow straightener, such as is shown in pl. 21, fig. 9. A perforated wooden arrow straightener, of the form shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is still used.

Implements of obsidian and of flint are common. Arrowheads and large spear points, as also knives which were formerly fitted into wooden handles, are yet to be found. These points are found by the Indians in various parts of the country where they have been used and left by former inhabitants. They are chiefly employed at present as charms in medicine and gambling. A gambler may take a large obsidian knife or spear point and, after singing the proper song, place it under the large tule mat upon which the game is being played, to insure good luck. In addition to their use in medicine as charms they are also employed for purposes of scarification.

Stone pipes of several forms (pl. 22, figs. 8, 9, 10) are still used. The discoidal form shown in figure 10, which is quite unusual for the Pacific slope, appears to have been less used in aboriginal times than the obtuse-angled form shown in figure 8.

GAMES.

The Lutuami, like most aboriginal peoples, had many games for both adult and young. It will not be necessary to go into details here, as the subject has been treated by Dr. George A. Dorsey[8] and Mr. Stewart Culin.[9]

BASKETRY.

The basketry of the Klamath and Modoc, which is always twined, may be classified under two heads: soft or pliable basketry and stiff or rigid basketry. The former predominates very largely and all the finer baskets are made in this manner. The materials used for this sort of basketry are as follows. The skin of the leaves of the cat-tail tule forms the white material which is used as the groundwork of almost all of the finer baskets. The

[8] Certain Gambling Games of the Klamath Indians, Amer. Anthr., n. s. III, 14-27, 1901.

[9] Twenty-fourth Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth., 136, 247, 291, 328, 479, 550, 659, 740, 1907.

*539 683 192 193

66, 13. gé'hlaptchapka. The verb gelápka means to step on, to mount, ascend; with 'h infixed, to mount upon something by using one's hands; ge'hlápteha is to perform this while on the way, while going or travelling; gé'hlaptchapka, to perform this at a distance from other people and unseen by them. Doctor John escaped, aided by his son, in the midnight hour.

66, 14. m'na únakam gatpĕnótash. Gatpĕnóta is a derivative of gátp'na with a durative signification, the suffix -óta pointing to an action performed while another is going on. "His son having arrived close by, while he was imprisoned."

66, 16. ahnû'ntatka, verbal intentional of shnû'nta, the suffix -tka being sometimes substituted for the usual -tki, -tki ging.

PUNISHMENT OF MANSLAUGHTER THROUGH WITCHCRAFT.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539 755 627 115

Tína máklaks mā'ntch-gî'tk ná-asht gî: "tû salχî'ta snawédsh gé-u
Once man long ago thus spoke: "over is bewitched with my there

shíllalsht! î a-i táwi!" Tsúi tchíkash skúyui suákitatki gíug; tsúi géna
having fallen sick; you bewitched (her)!" Then an old man he sent out to call a conjurer; and he started

3 tchíka suákitsuk, tsúi shuákiuk ndéna, tsúyuk túmĕna shuíshuk, kíuksam
the old man to fetch the conjurer, and to call him out hallood, and he heard the magic songs, conjurers'

yaínatat shuî'sh; áti ha shuíshuk. Tsúi géna kíuks tsutánsuk, tû'shtaks a
on the mountain songs; far away (are) songs there. Then goes the conjurer to treat (her), to the spot where

salχíta. At shû'ta hû'nk, tchúi hántsna. Gétpa mû'ns súmmatka, shuî'shuk
she lies bewitched. Now he works on her, and seeks. Comes out a big thing through (his) mouth, to sing

6 tpéwa, summátka hántsantkiug. Tsúi hántchipka, tsúi putá, tsúi húsatchip-
he orders (those present), with (his) mouth while he would seek on. Then he seeks out, and feels and throws up

gapĕle hánshish m'na; sχû'dχa lútatkish. At hû'k sχótka, kú-i hukî' tsutísh
again sucked-out article his; swallows (it) (his) expounder. Now (after) he has swallowed (it). worse that (patient) being treated

gî'ntak, kú-i gî, wigá telsámpka k'lā'ksh. Kiúks hû'k tché-ulχa shû'kpal-
in spite of, worse it, (she) almost she looks towards the spirit land. Conjurer the starts to leave wanting to

9 takiug kú-i gî'sht ká-i gî'lχisht pásh; tchúi hû'k ná-asht gî kálamtak
retire worse because (and) she turned not passing through (bowels) the food; hereupon he thus speaks whose own

snéwedsh shî'la shalχî'tnuk, kíukshash: "î a-i táwi húnksh." Tchúyuk
wife is sick for being bewitched, to the conjurer: "you have bewitched her." But

sakámka kíuks: "ká-i a nû táwit! shî'laka hût!" kíuks tchúi nā'sht
opposes denial the conjurer: "not I did bewitch (her)! had become sick (before) she!" conjurer then so

12 hémkank. At k'léka snawédsh.
said. Now dies the woman.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

539 Wudoká hushtsóχa sha kíuksas sálχitnuk kléksht húnk snawédshash.
755 Struck (and) killed they the conjurer for being bewitched (and) having died this woman.

627 Tsúi sa lúluksla snawédsh kíuksam síuks; hû'nk sa kíuksas ä'mpĕle
And cremated the woman by the conjurer killed; him they the conjurer brought back

tchĭ'shtal, tsúi sa lúluksla mák̲laks.
to (his) lodge, and cremated (him) the people.

NOTES.

68, 1 etc. This is a pretty good illustration of the method of doctoring by suction adopted in similar tamánuash cases. Persons sent out to call for the conjurer do not enter his cabin, but loudly halloo outside till he appears; in this instance he is supposed to sing his medicine songs amidst the solitary wilds of the mountain slopes.

[192] [177] 68, 1. mû'nteh-gi'tk. This temporal adverb places the mode of punishment described by the informant among the *ancient* customs of the people. Compared to what is stated here, the trial of Doctor John shows a material modification in the dealings with suspected conjurers, attributable to the influence of the white population.

[192] [193] 68, 1. 10. salχíta is always used in a passive signification, "to be afflicted with the tamánuash spell or bewitching power", which conjurers can send out at will.

68, 1. 2. The words inclosed in quotation marks *anticipate* all that follows up to 68, 10.

68, 2. 8. a-i. This particle has the signification: "undeniably, evidently".

[754] 68, 5. shû'ta hû'nk. The "working" of a conjurer on a patient's body consists in rubbing, pressing, magnetizing, in blowing on it, and in pouring water over the face or [753] other parts. Sucking out the object which caused the disease is of course the principal operation called for to effect a cure.

68, 5. mû'ns; it is not stated whether this hánshish was a frog, a worm, a small stick, or any such thing; this is immaterial, for the Indian strictly believes that the article was removed from the patient's body and that it caused the disease.

[192] 68, 6. hántsantking and 68, 8: shúkpaltaking stand for hántchantki ging and shukpalítki ging; cf. shû'kpĕli.

[192] [193] 68, 6. hántchipka properly means: "he sucks towards himself"; husatchipgápĕle "he throws up again to himself"; viz. into his mouth, so as to be able to take it out with his hands.

68, 7. lútatkish is the conjurer's assistant. His office is to repeat his tunes or speeches before those present in the lodge, to expound or explain his sayings, to start songs and tunes in his stead, and to perform such manipulations as mentioned here.

68, 8. k̲'lä'kab, contracted from k̲'läkápkash, the dead, the deceased; k̲'lekápkash telshámpka, to be on the point of death.

[192] 68, 8. tché-ulχa: he rises from his seat on the ground, or on a blanket near the patient's couch, for the purpose of leaving.

[756] 69, 1. hushtsóχa. The killing of a doctor or doctress by the relatives of the patient who died under his or her treatment was nothing unusual in the Columbia Basin until quite recently. In some tribes the third failure in curing brought certain death on the conjurer, especially when he had received his reward in advance.

SHAMANIC DANCE-DIRECTIONS.

GIVEN BY DAVE HILL IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT.

*539
755

"Wálok mat tû'nepni waitólat nát génuapka kshiuläktsuápkuk we-
"For sweating during five days we shall go to have a dance the
walä'ksh tchîsh. At géntak î'lksat pán a. Wû'sa nî lúskuapkug. Kílank
old women also. Ye (men) shall go on a feast to eat. I fear I may get too warm. Loud
3 ät tsuínuapk; túnepni ät nûtísh tsuî'nuapk. At tchîsh híhashuaksh ksíu-
ye must sing; at five ye fires ye have to sing. Ye too (women and) fellows begin
laktampka lítstakiank; untsä'g nä'tnag pá-uapk tû'm mbû'shant. "Sílalsh
to dance with exertion; by and by then ye shall eat plenty to-morrow. "Disease
mat nä'bakuapk" kíuks ná-asht shápa, yayayá-as mat ná-asht sápa; "kû't-
will come on" the shaman thus says, some tamánnash-medicine (to him) "it is so" says; "of small-
6 kaks mat síssalaluapk" yayayá-as mat ná-ast shápa. Suássuaktch mák-
pox it says will suffer (the people)" the tamánnash just so says. Are weeping peo-
laks nánuk wussóga kû'tχaks. Ná-ast kíuks wálok sápa: "Tánni ílksh
ple all afraid of smallpox. So the shaman before sweating speaks: "How many feed-buckets
shä'tu ät? tánkĕni at î'lksh? Lápni tá-unepanta pä'n túnep pé-ula;
do ye count? how many already buckets? Twice ten and five;
9 kánk a nî sä'tû."
so many I count."

NOTES.

70, 1 etc. This is a fair specimen of the careless, jargon-like conversational style in vogue among the É-ukshikni, and without commentaries and glosses it would be impossible to get at the true meaning.

[751] These directions are intended to gather the people at the communal dance-house for a dance lasting five nights. The dance is performed around the fires with almost superhuman exertions, in order to produce profuse perspiration and to prevent thereby any infection by disease. The conjurer or shaman is charged with the inaugu-
[192] ration of all dances, most of which are of a religious character. This kind of sweating is called "wála", while sweating in a temazcalli or sweat-house is "spúkli". The kíuks is introduced as speaking all these words. The particle mat indicates that the words given are those of another than of the narrator.

[192] 70, 1. waitólat; in common parlance: túnepni waítash gî'ulank, or: túnepni giulank, or in Modoc túnepni waitólan.

[796] 70, 1. kshíulaktcha different from ksíulĕχa; see Grammar (List of suffixes). These dances take place in winter time and are held from two to four times every season.

[562] 70, 2. wewalä'ksh. This is one of the festivities from which old women are not
[888] excluded; they often take part in the dance themselves.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 755 70, 2. l'lks (from élɣa, flɣa, *to lay down*) is the full dish, basket, or bucket (kála), on which the victuals are brought in; but it means also the food itself, and the dance-feast on which they are eaten. Locative case: l'lksat.

[192] 70, 3. shuína is often incorrectly pronounced tsuína.

[194] 70, 3. nutl'sh; verbally: while burning fivefold; while five fires are blazing.

70, 3. At tchî'sh: the young men, who strip themselves naked down to the hips during the performance, begin their dance after the women have had one turn.

[192] 70, 5. nă'bakuapk: see népka, in Dictionary.

[193] 70, 5. yayayá-as means a certain tamánuash witchcraft which inspires the conjurer: the conjurer tells the people just what (ná-ast) the yayayá-as said to him.

70, 6. 7. *s, sh* is here in three words doubled to *ss*: shíshalaluapka, shuashnáktcha, and wusóga; kû'tɣaks forms the indirect object of the first of these verbs.

[192] 70, 7. wálok sápa. The kíuks gets the inspiration from the yayayá-as only after sweating; then he can tell (sápa) the people, *when* the disease will come.

70, 8. tánkĕni: after tánkĕni at l'lksh supply ítpa? (did ye bring in?).

70, 8. 9. shă'tu, să'tu for the more usual form shă'tua; pă'n after tá-unepanta is incorrect and unnecessary; this conjunction should stand there only after ta-unépni or tá-unep.

DETAILS OF A CONJURER'S PRACTICE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY MISSES PROBEN.

Máklaks shuákiuk kíuksash ká-i gû'l'hi húnkĕlam ládshashtat, ndéna
Indians is calling the conjurer not enter his into lodge, they hollow

sha'hmóknok; kíuksh toks wán kiukáyank mû'luash m'na kanítа pí'sh.
to call (him) out; the conjurer red fox hanging out on a pole. as sign his outside "of him".

Kukíaks tchû'tanish gátp'nank wigáta tchélɣa mă'shipksh. Lútatkish 3
Conjurers when treating approaching close by all down the patient. The expounder

wigáta kíukshĕsh tcha'hlánshna. Shuyéga kíuks, wéwanuish tchík winóta
close to the conjurer sits down. Starts chorutus the conjurer, females then join in singing

liukiámnank nadshă'shak tchûtchtníshash. Hánashna mă'shish hû'nk
crowding around him simultaneously while he treats (the sick). He seeks diseased that

hishuákshash, tátktish l'shkuk, hantchípka tchí'k kukuága, wishinkága, 6
man, the disease to extract, he sucks out then a small frog, small snake,

mû'lkaga, kákо gí'ntak, káhaktok nánuktua nshendshkáne. Ts'û'ks toks
small insect, bone afterwards, whatsoever anything small. A leg

ké-usht tchékĕle ítkal; lúlp toks mă'shisht tchékĕlitat lgû'm shû'kĕlank
being fractured the (bad) blood he extracts; eyes but being sore into blood coal mixing

kí'tua lû'lpat, kû'tash tchish kshéwa lúlpat pû'klash tuizámpgatk 9
he pours into the eyes, a bone two introduces into the eye the white of eye protruding

ltúizaktgi gíug.
for eating out.

NOTES.

*539 ● 755 71, 1. shuákia does not mean "*to call on somebody*" generally, but only "*to call on the conjurer* or medicine man".

71, 2. wán stands for wánam ní'l: the fur or skin of a red or silver fox; kanítа pi'sh stands for kanítana látchash m'pálam: "outside of his lodge or cabin". The meaning of the sentence is: they raise their voices to call him out. Conjurers are in the habit of fastening a fox-skin outside of their lodges, as a business-sign, and to let it dangle from a rod stuck out in an oblique direction.

71, 3. tchélya. During the treatment of a patient who stays in a winter-house, the lodge is often shut up at the top, and the people sit in a circle inside in utter darkness.

[193] [192] 71, 5. kukiámnank. The women and all who take a part in the chorus usually sit in a circle around the conjurer and his assistant; the suffix -mna indicates close proximity. Ndshá'shak qualifies the verb winóta.

[192] 71, 5. tchûtchtnishash. The distributive form of tchû't'na refers to each of the *various* manipulations performed by the conjurer on the patient.

71, 5. má'shish, shortened from máshípkash, má'shípksh, like k'lá'ksh from k'lákápkaah, 68, 8.

[193] [192] 71, 6. 7. There is a stylistic incongruity in using the distributive form only in kukuágа (kúe, *frog*), káhaktok, and in nshendshkáne (nshekáni, ndshékani, tsékani, tchékëni, *small*), while inserting the absolute form in wishinkága (*wishink, garter-snake*) and in kákо; mû'lkaga is more of a generic term and its distributive form is therefore not in use.

71, 7. káhaktok for ká-akt ak; ká-akt being the transposed distributive form kákat, of kát, which, what (pron. relat.).

[192] 71, 8. lgû'm. The application of remedial *drugs* is very unfrequent in this tribe; and this is one of the reasons why the term "conjurer" or "shaman" will prove to be a better name for the medicine man than that of "Indian doctor".

71, 9. kû'tash etc. The conjurer introduces a louse into the eye to make it eat up the protruding white portion of the sore eye.

KÁLAK.

THE RELAPSE.

[115] GIVEN IN THE KLAMATH LAKE DIALECT BY DAVE HILL.

Hä náyäns hissuáksas mä'shitk kálak, tsúi kíuks nä'-ulakta tchután-
When another man fell sick and relapse. then the conjurer concludes to treat
uapkuk. Tchúi tchúta; tchúi yá-uks huk shlää kálak a gëk. Tchí huk
(him). And he treats; and remedy this finds out (that) relapsed he. Then the
3 shuí'sh sápa. Tsúi nä'sh shuí'sh sáyuaks hû'mtcha kálak, tchúi nánuk hûk
sang-remedy indicates. And one sang-remedy having found out (that) of the kind of relapsed (he is), then all those
shuí'sh tpä'wa hû'nksht kaltchitchíkshash heshuampëlítki gíug. Tchúi
remedies indicate (that) him the spider (-remedy) would cure. Then

*539 755 hû'k káltchitchiks yá-uka; ubá-us hûk káltchitchiksam tchutĕnō'tkish.
the spider treats him; a piece of deer-skin of the spider (is) the curing-tool.

Tsúi húnkantka ubá-ustka tchutá; tätáktak huk kálak mā'sha, gä'tak
Then by means of that deer-skin he treats (him); just the size of the spot that relapse is infected, so much

ubá-ush ktû'shka tä'tak huk mā'sha. Tsúi hûk káltchitchiks siunóta 3
of deer-skin he cuts out as where he is suffering. Then the "spider" song is started

nä'dskank hû'nk ubá-ush. Tchû'yuk p'laíta nétatka skútash, tsúi sha hû'nk
while applying that skin-piece. And he over it he stretches a blanket, and they it

udû'pka hänä'shishtka, tsûi hû'k gutä'ga tsulä'kshtat; gä'tsa lûpí kiatéga,
strike with conjurer's arrows, then it enters into the body; a particle firstly enters,

tsúi tsulĕ'ks k'läká, tchúi at pushpúshuk shlĕ'sh hûk ubá-ush. Tsúi mā'ns 6
then (it) body becomes, and now dark it to look at that skin-piece. Then after a while

tánkĕni ak waítash hû'k pûshpúshli at mā'ns-gítk tsulä'ks-sitk shlä'sh. Tsí
after so and so many days that black (thing) at last (is) flesh-like to look at. Thus

ní sáyuakta; túmi hû'nk shâyuakta hû'masht-gisht tchutĭ'sht; tsúyuk
I am informed; many men know, (that) in this manner were effected curses; and he then

tsúshni wä'mpĕle.
always was well again.

NOTES.

[192] [193] 72, 1. náyäns hisnúksas: another man than the conjurers of the tribe. The objective case shows that mā'shitk has to be regarded here as the participle of an impersonal verb: mā'sha-nûsh, and mā'sha nû, it ails me, I am sick.

72, 1. kálak, relapse. Relapse is not substantive, but adjective in the sense of a person having fallen back into the same disease by which he was afflicted before; kálkĕla, to fall sick.

[533] 72, 2. yá-uks is remedy in general, spiritual as well as material. Here a tamánnash song is meant by it, which, when sung by the conjurer, will furnish him the certainty if his patient is a relapse or not. There are several of these medicine-songs, but all of them (nánuk hû'k shuí'sh) when consulted point out the spider-medicine as the one to apply in this case. The spider's curing-instrument is that small piece of buckskin (ubá-ush) which has to be inserted under the patient's skin. It is called the spider's medicine because the spider-song is sung during its application. A spider-song in use among the Modocs is given below.

73, 5. hä'näshish appears as the subject of an incantation song in the song-list of Sergeant Morgan.

73, 5. gutä'ga. The whole operation is concealed from the eyes of spectators by a skin or blanket stretched over the patient and the hands of the operator.

73, 5. kiatéga. The buckskin piece has an oblong or longitudinal shape in most instances, and it is passed under the skin sideways and very gradually.

73, 7. tánkĕni ak waítash. Dave Hill gave as an approximate limit five days' time.

II.

*539 775 787 825 Kiä'm k̲'leká tchû'shni; tsúyunk hû'ksa tsóẋatk pi'l kiä'm, nánuktua
Fish remain dead forever; therefore these dead (people) (exist) only as fish, as all kinds of
kiä'm, nánuktua máklaksni tsókatk. Hä' n' hû'nk hû'nkiash shläät skû'k-
fish. all kinds of Indians dead. If I (of a deceased) should behold the
3 shash, k̲'läkát ni hû'nk släók; hä'toks ni shuíshaltk, tchēk gíug k̲á-i
spirit, would die I it through seeing; but if I recur to magic songs, then not
siúgat nis.
he may kill me.

NOTES.

[128] My efforts towards obtaining exhaustive texts from the natives concerning their belief in the transmigration of human souls were not crowned with entire success. Of the two items obtained, No. II is intended as a commentary of No. I, both treating [262] of the presence of human souls in fish. The cause why so many Indian tribes shun the flesh of certain fish lies in the fact that these species were seen feeding upon the bodies of drowned men and swimming around them. This induced the belief that man's soul will pass into the organisms of these finny inhabitants of the water, even when death has resulted from other causes than from drowning. According to Hill, *539 775 787 192 the Máklaks believe that the souls or spirits of the deceased pass into the bodies of living fish; they become inseparably connected with the fish's body and therefore cannot be perceived by Indians under usual circumstances. But in *one* status only they become visible to them; when Indians are bewitched by the irresistible, magic spell of a conjurer or of a wicked genius. Then they enter into a tamánuash-dream, and when they see a dead person's spirit in such a dream, they are almost certain to die from it. Only the intervention of the conjurer and of his song-medicine can save [755] them from perishing; rigorous fasting and ascetic performances cannot be then dispensed with, and with all that no certitude of his final rescue is to be had.

[769] Here as elsewhere the pronouns hûk, húnkiash etc., are inserted instead of the unpronounceable name of the deceased, and mean: *dead person, spirit.*

129, 2. pil máklaks; only dead Indians, not dead white men, because during their life-time these did not believe in the skû'ks; this belief is a privilege of the Indians.

129, 2. Hushti'ẋak etc. This sentence runs as follows: Tchē'ktoks hushti'ẋa ak nish, hûk tchē'k nish síuksh shanahō'li, wakiánhua tchēk p'násh (or pû'sh) nû'sh shuíshaltki gíug shanahō'li: "if he (the bad genius) makes me only dream in that manner, then he intends either to kill me, or perhaps he wants me to keep the song-medicine [756] for myself." To keep the song-medicine, shuíshlá, is to undergo fasts and ascetic performances under the supervision of some conjurer for an almost unlimited time, five years at least.

129, 3. 4. Hä'toks ni' shläät etc.: if I should see (the dead) while I am *awake.*

[193] 129, 4. Skû'ks-kiäm, a compound word, may be rendered by spirit-fish, letiferous fish.

130, 1. Kiä'm k̲'leká etc. The rather obscure sense of this statement may be made comprehensible by the following: "When fish are dead, they are dead forever; hence

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

149, 6. tü'ksh is probably the adessive case of tóke (ō) fire-place, hearth: tók-kahi.

149, 12. Tchuá is the long, cylindric root of the Sagittaria sagittifolia, an aquatic plant common in the West and East of the United States. In Oregon the term *potato* or wápatu (Chinook jargon) is most commonly heard for it. The name of Chewaukan Marsh, a sink and low ground situated east of Upper Klamath Lake, is a corruption of Tchuaɣĕ'ni: "where the arrow-leaf is found." The flower of the wápatu varies between red, reddish and whitish.

149, 17. Tsuni'ka. The flower has a diameter from two to three inches.

149, 21. Kû'lɣamsh is put on strings by the women and thus serves to attract the fish.

149, 21. ptchi'nk: after this word ought to be seen the picture of a tiny vegetal cylinder, about one inch long and slightly curved.

150, 1. Skáwanks or wild parsnip, a poisonous plant growing in wet places to the height of three feet.

150, 8. p'nâ'sh, contracted from p'nâlash, is the direct object (reflective) of shkuk-luápkasht: to guard themselves against becoming chapped by sun-burn. The wákinsh seems to be a kind of resin and furnishes a red paint, as does also the k'lépki.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSHAM SHUÍ'SH SHUINŌ'TKISH TCHÍSH.

INCANTATION SONGS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE PEOPLE.

1. *Introductory song:*

Yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní, yä'ka ní *etc.* ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏓

I sing, I sing, I sing (in chorus).

2. *Song, reference unknown:*

Wiwivá! ní shâwalsh wítnank! ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏓ ⏑

Blown off! the plume-crest has disappeared from me!

3. *Song of the wind:*

Kanítala m'sh û shlewitaknû'la? ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ ⏑

népaksh a-i ní'sh shlewitaknû'la. ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ ⏑

Who, I wonder, is blowing out of my mouth?
The disease is emanating from my mouth.

4. *The conjurer's song:*

Tuá kí nû shatashtaknû'la? ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑

nä'paks nû shatashtaknû'la. ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑

tuá kí' nû shatashtatχí'sh? ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓

nä'paks nû shatashtatχí'sh. ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓

What do I remove from my mouth?
The disease I extract from my mouth.
What is the thing I take out?
It is the disease I am taking out.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
755
533

5. *Song of the woodchuck:*

Käila nû gutí'la nû ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑

I am descending into the ground.

6. *Little girl's song:*

Shmashmáyalti, shmashmáyalti – ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑

In quill-fringed buckskin dressed,
In porcupine-fringed buckskin dressed.

7. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

Ä'kalä'kĕla nû, ä'kalä'kĕla nû ⏑́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ‖ ⏑́ ⏑ | – ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑

Long and slim I am, long and slim I am.

8. *Song of the fire-mantle:*

Lû'luksash nû shkutíya ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́

In fire-flames I am enveloped.

9. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Nû shnû'lashtat nû tgelí'wa ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑

I stand upon the rim of my nest.

10. *Song of the blind medicine-girl:*

Tchatchĕlushkánka nû tchíutchiûsh shneχī'tko

⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑

I search the ground with my hands, find there the feathers of the yellow hammer and devour them.

11. *Another song of the same:*

Palák! ísh hû lûlpalpalíat! ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | –

Quick! make ye eyes for me!

12. *Bird's song:*

Nû'sh pí'lan tiláluansha ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑

As a head only, I roll around.

13. *Song, reference unknown:*

Tuá pash nû? tuá pash ä nû? ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ ‖ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́

What am I? what am I?

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Há lúyam'na, nû lúyam'na ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑

This round thing I hold in my hand.

15. *Song of the long-tailed black marten:*

A wálχatchäka nû gatáml'χa ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑

I the black marten, I travel around this land.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 755

16. *Song of the skunk:*

Yámashtka nû tuituigídaha ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

In the north wind I dance around, tail spread, festive and gay.

17. *Chorus song:*

Tuá kĭ nû kóga? ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

nä'paks ai nû kóga. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

What do I suck out? The disease I am sucking out.

18. *Song of the boards:*

Pápkash huálta ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

Lumber-boards are rattling.

19. *Song of the lizard:*

Kĭ! kĭ'ya nû aíkana ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

Lo! thus I the lizard stick my head out.

20. *Song, reference unknown:*

Yámash ai nû'sh wílamnapka ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

The north wind has followed me.

21. *Song of the black mouse:*

Tuá kĭ nû tashulóla? ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

nä'poks ai nû tashulû'la. ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

Through what do I pass with my paws?
My paws glide over the hair of the disease.

22. *Song of the washpálaks-fox:*

L'ékĭsh, l'ékĭsh gená ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

Crazed I am wandering.

23. *Song of the weasel:*

Shä'ka nû, shéka nû ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

I am squealing, I am squalling.

24. *Song of the dog:*

Wátchag ai nû nû'kanka, ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

yámashtka nû nû'kanka. ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

I the dog am straying,
In the north wind I am straying.

25. *Song, reference unknown:*

Shlä'wish á-i nĭsh wílhua ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑

The storm gust dashes right on me.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
● 755

26. *Song, reference unknown:*

Mû'mĕni gé-u stû'kish gi ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

Heavy hailstones I possess.

27. *Song, reference unknown:*

Naínaya! ni'sh shléwish wítnank! – – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑

I am shivering! the wind blows down on me!

28. *Song of the bug:*

Shaíχish a-i ni kóga ⏑ – | ⏑ – – | ⏑ –

I the bug, I bite and suck.

29. *Song of the mink:*

Mû'ashtka nû udumulípka ⏑ – | – ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

I am swimming out while the south wind blows.

30. *Song of the young silver-fox:*

Wánam wéash nû wilamnápka ⏑ – | ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | – –

The young red fox I follow up.

31. *The incantation sings:*

Shuí'sh hátak nû géna nû

I the song I am walking here.

32. *Fox's song:*

Lalálaahtala wiká nû – ⏑ | – – – – | ⏑ –

I am blowing air from my flanks.

33. *Song of the tuákish-crane:*

Tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi, tuánχi . . . . . nû. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

34. *Songs, forming refrains to song No.* 33.

a-ahahíya, a-aha-a-ahíya ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – – – | – ⏑ –

a nû hé-e-i, a nû hé-e-i – ⏑ | ⏑ – – ‖ – ⏑ | ⏑ – –

35. *Song of the disease:*

Tuá nû shlewílam'na? – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | – –

népaks an shlewílam'na. ⏑ | – – – ⏑ | – –

What thing do I blow around?
The disease I am blowing around in the air.

36. *Song of the grizzly bear's cub:*

Yaínatat nû eitaktnúla, ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

lû'kam nû wéash gi. ⏑ – – | ⏑ – –

On the mountain top I am peeping out,
Of the grizzly bear I am the child.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
755

37. *Song of the female wolf:*

Kä'-utchish gû'lû h'lílantana ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑

I, the she-wolf, am rolling against (a tree!)

38. *Spoken by the conjurer while manipulating:*

Netá, netá . . . . . hahayí-ía
Nenû', nenû' . . . . . hahayí-ía

39. *Song of the tchiwititikaga-bird:*

K̲ú-i witíla, k̲ú-i witíla ⏑́ ⏑ – | ⏑́ ⏑ ‖ ⏑́ ⏑ – | ⏑́ ⏑

Fearfully the wind blows underneath here.

40. *Song of the blind girl:*

Lúashtka nû lû'tchipka, ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑
käíla nákant nî lúyapka. – ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑

In the fog I am straying blind,
All over the earth I am wandering.

41. *Song of the water-bug:*

Ádshi ádshi tcháya, ádshi ádshi tcháya ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ – ‖ ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ –

42. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Käíla nû hû shlû'tila ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑

I am scratching up the ground.

43. *Song of the little gray tchikass-bird:*

Yaínash a-i nû shlulóla ⏑́ ⏑ | ⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑́ ⏑

I am wafted off from the mountain.

44. *Song of the skō'ks or spirit:*

K̲akó pîla nû la-uláwa

Reduced to mere bones, I rattle through the air.

45. *Sung by the disease, found to live in water:*

Shléwishash nû tilutaknû'la

Breath I am emitting.

46. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Tunépni gé-u wélwash gî, ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́
páltko gé-u wélwash gi. ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑́

I have five water springs and (all) my springs are dry.

47. *Song of the black snake:*

Wámnaksh ai î' nû tûnûlúla ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ | ⏑́ ⏑

I the black-spotted snake am hanging here.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

539
533
755

48. *Conjurer's own song:*

Käílanti nû shi'lshíla ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – –

I, the earth, am resounding like the roll of thunder.

49. *Bird's song:*

Nená nû, nená nû – ⏑ – | – ⏑ –

I flutter along the ground (while walking).

50. *Song of the grizzly bear:*

Yaínalam shulúyualsh ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – –

51. *Woman's song:*

Shutpashuítk gûn snewédshash gî, ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –
shutpashuítk a nî snewédshash gî. ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

Painted I am on the body,
I, a woman, am painted black.

52. *Song of the weasel:*

Gaíkash, gaíkash nuyámna ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – –

Fooling, fooling I run around.

53. *Song of the gray fox:*

Nánuktua nû papt'sh gî – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | – ⏑ –

Everything I can devour.

54. *The conjurer speaks as follows:*

Hû'masht hûk gĕk lupt' kálkĕla, hût hûnk tchi'ka-ag tutlyólatk
Therefore this (patient) first was hurt, that (his) mother after dreaming
unák pápka. At tchík hûnk kĕ'k k'lékshashtala télshampka.
early sis. Then this (patient) to the spirit-land turned his face.

55. *Conjurer speaks:*

Kágga waktála i nûshyĕ'ni nía hémkanksh wásht liwátchamp-
What (and) why thus you towards me a while ago were speaking indoors to hold up (the
kish?
patient)?

56. *Conjurer's song:*

Tuátala nish hû lyetknúla? – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | –
gû'pal a-í nish lyetknúla. ⏑ | – – ⏑ | – ⏑ | ⏑ –

What is coming out of my mouth?
Black substance is hanging down from my mouth.

57. *Song, reference unknown:*

Lúash ai nû'sh a lû'lamnapka ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – – –

Fog followed drifting after me.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 ● 755 58. *Song of the turtle:*

Tuá ki nish lé-ula? –⏑|–⏑–⏑|–

Which game did you play with me?

NOTES.

[115 124] This long series of shamanic songs in use on the Williamson River was obtained from *Mary*, a young pupil of the boarding school of Indian children at the Klamath agency. When living among the Indians on the Williamson River she had heard all these songs very frequently, and in an interesting evening entertainment she faithfully reproduced the manipulations of the male and female conjurers upon a little rag baby lying on the floor on a bed made up of old blankets, the figure representing some poor suffering Indian patient. The other Indian girls of the school joined in a lively chorus every time when she had fairly started any of these incantations, and given the signal by clapping hands.

On the day following these incantations were dictated, translated and explained to me by *Minnie Froben*, assisted by Mary, and though both persisted in the statement that the order in which the songs are sung was quite immaterial, I present them here in the order in which I obtained them.

Each of these song-lines is sung many times by the conjurer, then *repeated* by the chorus a dozen times or more. The chorus varies the melody somewhat each time, but this musical variation is so slight and insignificant that the general impression of monotony is not dispelled by it. Quite a number of these songs have very pretty melodies, but by long repetition even these must of course produce tediousness and disgust; other songs have weird and strange tunes, others are quaint, but almost repulsive by their shrill accents; these may be said to form the transition to the mere howls and imitations of animal voices, which are frequent also in doctoring ceremonies, but more frequent in the war-shouts and funereal cries and wailings.

The animal or object of nature to which the conjurer attributes each of the song-lines was not remembered in every instance. Where this reference was obtained, it was added at the head of the song or song-line. The animals mentioned in these songs are all supposed to have been sent out by the conjurer to look out for the whereabouts of the *personified* disease, from which the patient is suffering, and whatever the conjurer sings about the animals refers to what he sees them doing while on their errand. On the distinction made between shul'sh and shuinō'tkish cf. *Note* to song 9.

Kiúksam shul'sh is not merely a conjurer's song, but a mysterious agency connected with a spell of preternatural power. This spell is not exclusively attached to a song sung by a conjurer, but it may be borne also by a dream, disease, by some drug, or by that kind of witchcraft which is called elsewhere the evil eye. Kiúksam shul'sh is therefore a beneficial or destructive tamánuash agency, which when applied to a patient can cure him or make him worse; when appearing under the shape of a dream, it is a dream of good or one of bad augury.

The conjurer sometimes diversifies his songs, all of which are sung in the *minor* keys, by inserting spoken words relating to the condition of the patient and the effects of his treatments; specimens of this are given in 38. 54. 55. Parts of them are also repeated by the chorus.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

Many Indians do not understand all these songs, which contain many archaic forms and words, and the conjurers themselves are generally loth to give their meaning, even if they should understand them. Some songs are of a stereotypic application in the treatment of all or the majority of the maladies. A close familiarity with the habits of animals of the forest manifests itself throughout, as well as in the mythic tales.

The translations added by me are not literal; they render the meaning of the songs in a free and paraphrastic manner. In the metrics the accentuated syllables designate a higher pitch of the singing voice.

153; 2. Literally: "I blew off the feather-crest."

153; 3. To read: shléwi witznû'lank, seems preferable in this connection. Cf. 35.

154; 6. On grand occasions young women were in the habit of dressing in buckskin robes, fringed with porcupine quills (shmáyalsh). In a myth the bull-frog was reported to wear constantly this kind of dress, and hence originated a sort of proverbial locution: kó-e shmashmáyalti: "the bull-frog in the shmáyalsh-dress." Cf. shmáyam. Zoologists call this frog: Rana pipiens.

154; 7. This is called waahpaláksam shul'sh, the medicine-song of the waahpálaks-fox species, Vulpes velox. The exterior of this fox may be sketched by the words: ä'kelä'kēla wátchag hû'tchnnk, a long-bodied dog is running or trotting. Cf. song 22.

154; 9. This is called the tuáksham shuinð'tkish or incantation sung by the crane itself through the mouth of the conjurer. Nobody could hear the bird's voice if the conjurer did not sing its song. A song, which the conjurer sings for himself and by which he does not interpret any animal or other object of nature, is called kiúksam shul'sh and is endowed with magic powers. In the West of the United States the tuákish is popularly known as shitepoke, in the East as fly-up-the-creek.

154; 10. The feathers of the yellow hammer are worn on neck as an ornament.

154; 12. This refers to a certain large bird not specified, which contracts its body, so that the head seems to be its largest part. When walking, the bird seems to roll around on the prairie. Pílan for pila nñ.

154; 14. The object to which song 14 refers is not known.

154; 15. Walyátchaga is very probably, though not certainly, a kind of marten. Mantles were made of its fur. This rimed incantation is called walyátchkalam shuinð'tkish.

155; 16. Called: tchâshisham shuinð'tkish; melody very pretty. The diphthong ui is pronounced here as *one* syllable. Skunks, while running around, are in the habit of holding straight up their bushy tails, which are almost as long as their bodies.

155; 17. This pretty song is chanted by the choristers while the kíuks feigns to suck out of the body the tiny object which is supposed to have caused the disease, and before he gets it out. kóga, kógka means originally *to bite*; bite first, then suck the disease out.

155; 18. Pápkash is pronounced almost like pávkash; 144, 11. kópka like kóvka.

155; 19. Alludes to a peculiar nodding observed in lizards when running out of their holes and stopping at the issue.

155; 20. The animal to which this song refers is not known. Compare No. 16. 24. The literal meaning is: "The north wind blows around me from the distance."

155; 21. This song, with a beautiful melody, is the shuinð'tkish of a mouse species with pig-like proboscis.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

155; 22. Pékah, lékah, distr. lélakah crazy, maddened, intoxicated. This song is sung also: lé-é'kah, lé-é'kah gená: ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ Cf. 154; 7.

155; 23. The weasel is squealing, because hunters have caught or trapped it.

156; 26. Probably refers to one of those birds to whom the power is attributed to bring about storms, fog, snow, or any change of the weather.

156; 27. Compare songs 2 and 3.

156; 28. This bug, perhaps a scarabee, bites the skin to suck out the disease from the wound.

156; 30. This is probably a song of the wind, not of the young silver-fox (as I was told), and I have translated it as such. The song No. 20 is analogous to it in every respect; the winds, which the Indians constantly compare with the spread of the disease, are frequently mentioned in these songs as blowing upon some animal or other object sent out by the conjurer to discover the whereabouts of the disease. Cf. No. 16. 20. 24. 25. 29. 30. 43. and 57.

156; 32. This song is said to allude to the circumstance that one fox's howl seems to sound like the cries of many foxes howling together. Lalálash are both sides of one and the same beast.

156; 33. With these monotonous sounds the tuákash or tuákish calls itself by its own cry: tuák, wák, tuák. Tuánxi is: tuák ni gi "tuák I am crying." Cf. 154; 9. Two refrains to this line are formed by the two lines of No. 34.

156; 35. The *personified* disease spreads the germs of sickness through the atmosphere. This song is comparable to songs 3 and 45.

157; 37. The signification of h'lílantana could not be disclosed, but it seems to be similar to that of tilantana.

157; 39. This small bird is dark, and has a red or yellow neck.

157; 43. Speaks of a fog drifting away from the mountains and turning into a cloud, which is drifting also.

157; 44. The bones of a dead person's skeleton are supposed to rattle against each other, the spirit being here identified with the skeleton.

157; 46. Often sung wélwashi gi; epenthetic syllables are frequent in these songs, *e. g.* walxátchika in song 15.

157; 47. The wámënigsh or wámn'aks, a species of Pityophis, has large black spots and frequently occurs in the Klamath country. Tunulúla means to hang down over something as over a rock.

158; 48. This is sung when water is poured over the patient. A more literal translation would be: "I am resounding within the ground."

158; 50. Yaínalam shulúyualsh means round, cylindric or globiform objects standing in a row on a mountain. The den of the grizzly bear is supposed to be in the mountains or on a mountain top. Cf. song 36. My informants did not know what the objects were which stood in a series, but if any religious notions were connected with them, we may compare the three sacred rocks standing on a mountain top in Peruvian mythology. These rocks were fetishes indicative of stone worship, representing a mother with two sons. Another myth mentions four of them, representing Catequil (the god of thunder), Viracocha, a sun god and a fire god. The song No. 50 is sung by the chorus while the kinks is dancing.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 755 [302] [193]

158; 51. The paint was put on expressly for the dance and smeared across her breast or anywhere on body; gûn for kē nû, gē nû, vowel û inverted.

158; 54. These spoken words are also repeated by the choristers. The repetition is very long and noisy and winds up in a howling. tutiɣólatko, after having ceased to dream. This would imply, that after dreams fasting must be observed as a religious custom. k'lékshashtala for the correct form k'lekápkashtala. This phrase occurs in 68, 8., and is explained in *Note*.

158; 55. The meaning is rather obscure, probably owing to omissions.

Kiúksham shuí'sh.

CONJURER'S INCANTATIONS.

[115]

Obtained from Chief Johnson and Sub-chief Dave Hill.

1. *Song of the disease:*

Nă'pakshtka hínui nû; kaluáshtat nû

By sickness I am prostrate; I am (now) up in the clear sky.

2. *Song of the woodpecker:*

Kóshash ká-a nû piuptutánna ⏑ – | ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

I am picking hard at the bark of a pine tree.

3. *Song of the túktukuash-hawk:*

Kuáta nû tchiliká nû – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | –

I am pinching hard.

4. *Song of the white-headed eagle:*

Kaluáshtat nû tchutchúa – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – – ⏑ –

I am croaking high up in the skies.

5. *Song of the weasel:*

Kăflash nû shuína a ni yána – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | – ⏑

From under the ground I am singing.

6. *Song of the mink:*

Atín tchelă'wash géna – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – – ⏑

Ripples in the water-sheet I am spreading far and wide.

7. *Song of the skunk:*

Té-i, té-i, ksiúlza ⏑ – | ⏑ – | – ⏑ –

With shortened steps I am dancing.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 755

8. *Song of the quiver:*

Yáhinsh nû tadsí tadsí ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ | – – | ⏑

9. *Song by a companion of the old frog:*

Kú-e welékash nû wélwash tchalekíya – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – – – ⏑ | – ⏑ – –

An old frog-woman I sit down at the spring.

10. *Song of the gáwi-bird:*

Sháwalish haí nû shlatanáya ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – – | ⏑ –

A flint-headed arrow I am ready to dispatch.

11. *Song of the eagle-feather:*

Mû'kash a gí nû, gená nû, hō ⏑ – | – – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑

I am the eagle-feather, I am going down, hō!

12. *Song, reference unknown:*

Kú-i hai nen kśul'ka

I feel too bad for dancing.

13. *Song of the dwarf:*

Na'hnías naní naní naní-a a á nanía . . . . . naní, náni-i-á

14. *Song, reference unknown:*

Käfla nû spt'amna ⏑ – – | ⏑ – –

I am dragging out dirt.

15. *Song, reference unknown:*

Sháppashti nû laki gí

I am the lord of the sun.

16. *Song of the shaiχish-bird:*

Shaiχ'ish gúluaga lulamnóla – ⏑ | – – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑ | –

I the little black female bird am lost and strayed.

NOTES.

*539 533 755 192

162; 1. By others this song was given as follows: Ná'paks kinuína kalowát nû: "I the disease am meandering through the skies." This variant is evidently preferable to the one above.

162; 2. In the Sahaptin language of the Yákima, Washington Territory, a certain bird is called piúpiu; the Klamath Lakes call a spotted kind of woodpecker shpíu'hpush. Both terms are derived from an onomatopoetic radix piu, imitating the picking at the bark by the woodpecker.

162; 3. The túktuknash or fish-hawk, Pandion carolinensis, occurs in large numbers on the lakes of the Klamath highlands. Like that of many other birds, its Indian name is derived onomatopoetically from its cry.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 755 192 [825]

160; 4. Of the yatúyal, white-headed or bald eagle, Haliaetus leucocephalus, another conjurer's song was obtained. Cf. 165; 5.

162; 5. The wording of this song could not be obtained with certainty.

162; 6. Stands for: atí tchelü'waah nû géna.

162; 7. té-i, té-i has no meaning, but simply serves to beat the measure when dancing with short steps.

163; 8. This song is said to be that of the quiver (tókankah) and its purport the same as that of No. 7. Yáhiash is a kind of aquatic bird.

163; 9. A similarly worded song is in the Modoc collection, given by Toby Riddle.

163; 10. Sháwalsh is here lengthened into sháwallsh for metrical reasons.

163; 11. This is a favorite song of a kíuks on the Williamson River, called Skúkum Doctor (stout doctor). Given by Dave Hill, also 12 and 13.

[776]

163; 13. Foot-prints not larger than those of a baby are sometimes discovered in the higher mountains of the Cascade Range. The Indians refer them to a dwarf called na'hnísa, whose body can be seen by the conjurers of the tribe only. The dwarf gives them his advice for curing the sicknesses of others and inspires them with a superior kind of knowledge.

163; 14–16 were dictated by an Indian whom I found at Linkville.

163; 15. The name of the animal, probably a bird, to which this conjurer's song refers was not obtained. Cf. shápeam ptchíwip in Dictionary.

E-UKSHIKÍSHAM KÍUKSAM SHUÍ'SH.

*539 533 755 [115]

INCANTATIONS OF THE KLAMATH LAKE CONJURERS.

OBTAINED FROM "SERGEANT" MORGAN.

1. *Song of the Lake:*

Ktsálui gé-u é-uah

My lake is glittering in azure colors.

2. *Song of the rain-storm:*

Gé-u a-i népaks népka,
gûlkásh gé-u hû shuísh.

The disease produced by me has arrived,
I am the storm and wind and this is my song.

3. *Song of the conjurer's arrow:*

Gé-u a hû't hänä'aish

This here is my long magic arrow.

4. *Song of the North wind:*

Yámsam gé-u gĕ'-ish kápa ⏑ – – – | ⏑ – – –

I am the North wind, and in my path I am irresistible.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
755

5. *Song of the yaúkal-eagle:*

P'laína nû kshakt'dsha ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

High up in the skies I describe my magic circles.

6. *Song of the little sucker:*

Yénash ai nish aléwish wíta ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

Now the wind-gust sings about me, the yén-fish.

7. *Words sung by the East wind:*

Yéwa, yéwa, yéwa, yéwa ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

Easter, easter, eastern, eastern.

8. *Song of a black snake:*

Kámtilagam gé-u génhuish ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

This is mine, the black snake's, gait.

9. *Conjurer's kat'hidwash-incantation:*

Gé-u hût ké-ish kat'hiáwasam

Thus I walk when I tie up the hair.

10. *Song of the black ground-mouse or kélâyua:*

Munána nû shuiná

Down in the dark ground I am singing my strain.

11. *Conjurer's song of the rope:*

Kĕnúks a-i nû stû'nχl-uapk – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – – –

I will pull a rope from my entrails.

12. *Gray wolf's song:*

Ké-utchish ai nû shut'sh gí ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – – | ⏑ –

I am the gray wolf magic song.

13. *Song of the female lizard, kî'a kúlu:*

Skû'lala gé-u kă'la kíalam ké-ish

The land on which I, the female lizard, am treading, belongs to the lark.

14. *Song of the male lizard, kî'a laki:*

Ktsálui kî'alam gé-u ké-ish

When I the lizard am walking, my body is resplendent with colors.

15. *Song of the kilídshiksh-duck:*

Tseléwa gé-u é-us – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑ –

In my lake ripples I am spreading.

16. *Song of the yellow jacket or kî'ash:*

Nû' ai nen nûtû'yamna

Here I am buzzing around.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
● 755

17. *Song of the young deer's claws:*

Kodsí'ngs a gé-u wálta

My deer-claws are rattling.

18. *Song of the kshí'kshnish-hawk:*

Wéash á-i nû kshûkátkal ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ ⏑

I carry my offspring with me.

19. *Song of the pelican or kúmal:*

Há wíshtkak nû núyamna ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ ⏑ ⏑

Noisily I am blowing around.

20. *Song of the swan:*

Kû'sham gé-u wítchtaks

By me, by the swan, this storm has been produced.

21. *Woman's song:*

Kutchí'ngshka hû' mû'luesh

The feet of a young deer are my medicine-tools.

22. *Song of the male kâls or kâlχalsh-bird:*

Kâ'lsam gé-u lúmalaks

This is my song, the kâlsh-bird's, who made the fog.

23. *Song of the female kâls-bird:*

Kálsam kû'lo gé-u lû'malaks

Like my consort, the kâlsh-bird, I produce fog at will.

24. *Song of the otter or kólta:*

Conjurer: Gútkaks gé-u népk

The small-pox brought by me, the otter, is upon ye.

Chorus: Killt'lga kóltam génuish

The otter's tread has whirled up the dust.

25. *Conjurer's song:*

Kó-idsi ai nû shuí'sh gî

I am a conjurer's fatal song.

26. *Funeral song:*

Lû'luksam nû skû'tchaltko

I am now wrapped in the garments of fire-flame.

27. *Song of the mámaktsu-duck:*

Gutitgúlash gé-u népka ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑

Belly-ache is the disease which I carry along with me.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 ● 755

28. *Song of mpámpaktish-duck:*

Gutt'tkuls gé-u nä'paks

Belly-ache is the disease I am bringing on.

29. *Song of the South wind:*

Mû'ash ai nû' shut'sh gi, ⏑ – ⏑ | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

kăila nû wikánsha. ⏑ – ⏑ | – ⏑ –

I am the South wind's magic song and sweep over the earth.

30. *Song of the conjurer's implements:*

Tchí hû tché-us mû'luash;

kóltam gé-u hû mû'luash,

sχi'l gé-u hû mû'luash.

So looks the medicine-tool taken from the yellow hammer;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter;
This is my curing-tool, that of the otter-skin belt.

31. *Song of the black náta-duck:*

Nû ai náta shut'sh

The náta-duck is now singing about itself.

32. *Song of the nû'sh-tilansnéash-bird:*

Lû'paksh gé-u mû'luash ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – –

White chalk is my medicine-tool.

33. *Song of the pipe:*

Kátchkalam mû'luash,

pä'ks gé-u mû'luash.

The smoking pipe is my medicine-tool, the implement for the tobacco.

34. *Song of the scoop:*

É-usam mû'luash,

pála hû gé-u mû'luash hû.

This scooping-paddle is my curing-instrument, that tool used on the lake.

35. *Song of the póp-tchikas bird:*

Póp-tsikas nû' shut'sh gi ⏑ – – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

I am the incantation of the little póp-tsikas bird.

36. *Song of the shkû'-bird:*

Nû ai nen nû shut'sh gi, ⏑ – | ⏑ – – | ⏑ –

p'laína nû kakt'dsa. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

I am a magic song and circle high above the earth.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
755

37. *Song of Old Marten or Skélamtch:*

Nû' ai nen aggt'dsha ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

I go up and stick fast to the tree.

38. *Song of spirits' walking-stick, or skû'ksam hä'kshish:*

Skû'ks ai nû sí'kamba í

Leaning on a staff, I the dead man's spirit am traveling.

39. *Song of the large black woodpecker:*

Sk̲û'kashak nû nä'pka

I the young woodpecker have brought on sickness.

40. *Song of the strap made of otter skin (sχí'l):*

Sχí'l ai nû mû'luash, ⏑ – – | ⏑ – –

sχí'l ai nû shuí'sh gí. ⏑ – – | – ⏑ –

I the skin-strap am a conjurer's tool, I am a magic song.

41. *Song of the sχí'b-bird:*

Sχí'pa nû shuí'sh

Of the sχíb-bird I am the song.

Or, in other words:

I the sχíb-bird am singing about myself.

42. *Song of the storm-blast:*

Sléwish ai nû wuyámna

I the storm-wind I wind around.

43. *Song of the lark:*

Nánukash gé-u nä'paksh,

Skólälam gé-u nä'paksh.

The disease brought on by me, the lark, spreads everywhere.

44. *Song of the spû'm or female shkä'-bird:*

Käflash nû shholóka

I am snapping at the ground.

45. *Song of the sweat-lodge stick-hole:*

Stsaúsawalks gé-u shuí'sh gí ⏑ – – | ⏑ – – | ⏑ –

This is my song, that of the stick-hole.

46. *Song of the loon or táplal:*

Tseléwash nish shiálamnû taplálas

I am the loon and my waves follow me.

47. *Song of the bodily pains:*

Tatktí'sh ai nû nä'pka

I the painfulness have come upon ye.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
755

48. *Song of famine or hunger:*

Tiä'mish ai gé-u nä'pka

The pangs of hunger I carry about.

49. *Song of the West wind:*

Tχalamtálkni k̲ú-idsi nû

sléwish hû widsápka.

I the West wind, high above the earth I blow as a pernicious wind-gust.

50. *Song of the túktukuash fish-hawk:*

P'laína nû kshakédsha,

k̲aló ní kshékansha.

High up in the skies I soar and turn my circles.
Through the clear skies I am carrying my prey.

51. *Song of the tsákĕmush, an aquatic bird:*

Kä'lash ak nû wúya tsákĕnûsh

I the tsákĕnush would like to fly over the country.

52. *Song of a gray aquatic fowl, called tchákiuks:*

Shaíkish ai nû yû'ta ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑

I the shaíkish I walk with ponderous steps.

53. *The little boy's song:*

Tsákiag a-i nû shuí'sh gî,

lĕmé-ish a-i nû shuí'sh gî.

This is my own, the little boy's, song;
About the thunder I am singing now.

54. *Song of the tsántsan-hawk or kingfisher:*

Tsála-esh nû k̲ó k̲a tsántsan – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ –

I the tsántsan-bird am eating up the salmon.

55. *Song of the weasel or tsásgai:*

Ktsáluï nû génhuish

While walking I shine in my multiple colors.

56. *Weasel's magic song:*

Tsaskáyam gé-u kä'la,

guyúma ké-u kä'la.

Mine is this ground, the weasel's,
Muddy is my ground, the weasel's.

57. *Song of the tcháwash-fish:*

Tsáwas ai nû shuí'sh gî

I the tsáwas-fish am singing my own song.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

* 539
533
● 755

58. *Song of the tsí'ktu-hawk:*

Yámash a nû shuí'sh;
yámash a gé-u shuí'sh.

About the north wind I am singing,
About the cold winds I am singing.

59. *Tsisχixi-bird's song:*

Nû ai nen nû shuí'sh gí

I am singing about myself.

60. *Song of the tsiutsiwäsh-bird:*

Tsiutsiwä'sam kē'sh múlua

The snow made by me, the tsiutsiwäsh-bird, is ready to arrive.

61. *Song of the blue jay, or tsχä-utsχä'-ush:*

Sankáwaltk ai nû shuí'sh

High-crested I sing my song.

62. *Song of the large black vulture:*

Tchuaísh ai nû naggí'dsa

I the vulture describe my circles in the air.

63. *Song of the wákash-crane:*

Wákas nî tchekléla

I the wákash-crane crouch on the water's edge.

64. *Song of the young wákash-crane:*

Wakáshak nû nä'pka

The disease brought on comes from me, the young wákash-bird.

65. *Woodpecker's song:*

Wákwakins wínta wálashtat

I, the woodpecker, am holding fast the tree-stem.

66. *Song of the wá'hlas-tree:*

Walásh ai nû wawíkanka ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑

I the pole-tree am shaking my crown.

67. *Song of the wá-u'htuash-duck:*

Wa-u'htû'sam gé-u nä'pka ⏑ ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑

A sickness has come, and I the wá-u'htuash-duck have produced it.

68. *Song of the mallard-duck:*

Wä'-aks ai nî tchéwa – ⏑ | – ⏑ | – ⏑

I the mallard float on the water's bosom.

69. *Song of the weíwash-goose:*

Gé-u ai hû't wítchtaks

This tempest is my work.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539 533 755

70. *Song of the little wipélĭ'wash forest-bird:*

Wipélĭ'wash nû shuĭ'sh gí,
wuipléwĕsh nû shuĭ'sh.

My own song I sing, I the wipélĭwash-bird.
I the wuipléwash am singing about myself.

71. *Song of the witkatkish-hawk:*

Gé-u aí hû tû' sáwals, ⏑ – | ⏑ – – | ⏑ –
witkatkísam gé-u sáwals. ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ – | ⏑ –

My head-crest this is, it is that of the witkatkish-hawk.

NOTES.

[825] The incantations obtained from Morgan are mostly of the kind called shuinŏ'tkish, and a large number of them are attributed to birds. Some of them probably exist in a more explicit form, which was not remembered, and the rhythmic or musical form *539 533 755 192 was obtained of a part of them only. A literal translation of these song-lines is an impossibility in most instances, if their sense has to be rendered in full; I have therefore furnished only paraphrastic interpretations. The list is alphabetic, and was arranged after the names of the animals, or other personified objects, to which the incantations are attributed. Many of these songs are referred to in the "Subject List of Incantations" given by Morgan.

164; 1. Ktsálui, to be resplendent with colors, is mainly said of objects showing a blue or purple tinge: pû'ksam shláps ktsáluitko, the camass-plant has a bluish color. This verb is also used when speaking of the rainbow; of the lizard: 165; 14., also of the weasel's fur-skin: 169; 55.

[72] 164; 3. The use of these conjurer's arrows is mentioned 73, 5.

164; 4. Yámsam for Yámasham; cf. *Note* to 111, 4. Of the personified North wind the Indians say "he lives up in the mountains". On the north side the basin of [193] the Williamson River is closed up by high mountains. Gó-ish and génuish, génhuish means the action of going and that of having gone, or the present and the past going; both were translated by "*gait*", "*tread*", a term which does not differ much from the real meaning. Both terms also occur in the songs obtained from "Doctor" John, and are mainly used of quadrupeds, amphibians, and reptiles.

164; 4. kápa probably for gátpa (nû), "I have come".

[136] 165; 6. The yĕ'n sucker-fish is quite abundant in the lakes of the Klamath highlands and has been identified by Prof. E. D. Cope as the Catostomus labiatus.

165; 7. yéwa. In Morgan's series of incantations there are song-lines on wind-gusts, tempests, rain-storms and on the winds blowing from each of the four cardinal [821] points of the compass. These latter are not positively stated to be producers of disease, though they are dreaded on account of their force and violence. The East wind (yéwash) blowing over the alkaline or volcanic, arid lands of Southern Oregon sings: yéwa, yéwa (nû) which does not only signify "I blow from the East", but also "I am howling".

165; 11. Feigning to draw a rope or string from their own posteriors is a trick sometimes resorted to by doctoring practitioners to make a disease disappear.

7:Gatschet E-4,5 (1877) 1890 NR10 Klamath NR10

*539
533
755
192
[534]

165; 13. It is by no means certain whether the above is the full wording of this song or not.

165; 16. nen involves the idea: "you hear it yourselves." Cf. 167; 36. 170; 59.

166; 17. kódsinksh was in this connection explained by lílhanksam stĕ'ksh. Conjurers' rattles are made of deer's claws.

166; 18. This hawk is a kind of sparrow-hawk, Falco sparverius.

166; 20. Compare the song of the weíwash-goose: 170; 69.

166; 21. This song of a female conjurer or "doctress" is quite analogous to the song 168; 17.

166; 22. The káls flies around in cold nights followed often by foggy mornings, hence the belief that it makes the fog.

166; 25. Compare the gray wolf's song, 165; 12., which forms alliteration to this.

166; 26. Refers very probably to the cremation of the dead.

[778]

167; 30. In line 2 the same object is alluded to as in line 3, kóltam sχí'l. This is a broad strip of dressed otter skin, ornamented in various ways with shells, feathers, bird-scalps, etc. To all these objects a magic power is attributed severally, and as they are now all united on one strip of skin, this strip must unite the magic powers of them all. The conjurer suspends the sχí'l on his neck and lets it dangle over his chest or back, according to the manipulations in which he is engaged at the time. It is considered as one of the most powerful of all the curing tools or múluash.

167; 32. Alludes to the grayish-white color of this bird, which burrows underground. This bird is also mentioned in 154; 12. and *Note;* cf. also 132, 7. 8.

[193]

168; 41. Sχí'pa is the abbreviated form of the possessive case in -am, as in wáshs wéka 105, 9. and *Note* to 105, 7.; in: ní'l-wéksa, 144, 1. cf. 165; 13.

168; 44. Interpreted by others: "I am scolding and threatening the earth".

169; 50. Another túktuknash-song is contained in 162; 3. cf. *Note.*

169; 52. Shaíkish is another name given to the tchákiuks.

169; 54. The kingfisher or Ceryle alcyon is called in Klamath Lake tchántchan, tsántsan, tchánshan after its cry: tchătchătchă, and chiefly feeds on salmon.

169; 56. The second line was referred by "Sergeant" Morgan to the otter. Cf. 177; 13.

170; 58. This alludes to the name of the bird, which imitates its twittering.

170; 62. This bird circles in the air to discover fish on the lake's surface and to pounce upon them. The tchuaísh is the red headed vulture or black buzzard: Cathartes aura. The Indian name is an imitation of the bird's cry.

170; 63. 64. The wákash-crane is identical with the tuákish, the name being derived from its cry. These birds creep along the edge of the water in search of small fish. Compare the tuákish-songs 154; 9. 156; 33. 34.

170; 65. This song is much better expressed in the series of Modoc incantations: 174; 13. Here as well as there alliteration is perceptible.

[193]

170; 67. After gé-u, the subject of the sentence, nä'paks or the disease, is omitted. In the name of the duck the final -s, -sh is geminated here in the possessive case, to stand for wa-u'htti'asam.

[194]

170; 68. In the onomatopoetic word wä'ks the dissimilation of the vowel into wä'-aks is frequently observed. Also pronounced wékash.

170; 69. The weíwash- or waíwash-goose is a long-necked white bird, commonly known as snow-goose: Anser hyperboreus.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

Here Christian elements, like the sign of the cross, were interspersed with native Klamath traits relating to the shamanistic seance and to the aboriginal folklore. The acculturation process also involved modification and integration of Ghost Dance forms introduced from adjacent tribes.[10] The growth of tribal, rather than hamlet, factions split the reservation at this time, and there was the pattern, familiar among other Indians, of chief rivalling shaman and of progressive against conservative. While the 1870 cult is one abortive attempt at native cultural revival, the post-contact history of the Klamath is replete with illustrations of a religiously conceived resistance to the disrupting pressures from without. Variously listed are the Earthlodge Cult, the Dream Dance, and several other revivalistic and messianic forms.[11]

By about 1900, nativistic movements on the Klamath Reservation had burned themselves out. Tribal life of a half century ago was fraught with essentially the same problems which dog it today. People entered into economic competition in the greater society and became nominally Christian (and so lent Methodist sanctions to social institutions). However, the older values were only with difficulty accommodated to the new. One or two shamanistic practitioners survived but others felt that their power was gone. One informant tells of her uncle, a shaman, saying sadly, "My songs (shaman power) have left me." Shamanism as an integrating factor in Klamath life and in that of other Pacific Northwest groups is reflected in another important movement, somewhat different from the frenzied Ghost Dance. This is the Shaker Cult, also a synthesis of native and Christian elements but with longer range objectives. Originating in the north in the 1880's, it diffused slowly, reaching the Klamath in 1914.[12] Basically Christian in its orientation, the Shaker Cult admits a fundamentalistic Protestant eschatology; but in its emphasis on a "God is Light" theme, the employment of the cross as a particularly efficacious holy symbol, the use of bells, and the presence of curing seances, it assumed a peculiar flavor. Numerous aboriginal elements also are discernible.[13] Techniques reminiscent of shamanistic curing are employed (for example, the removing of causes of disease from the sufferer's body by means suggestive of shamanistic legerdemain), although the Shakers vigorously disclaim the older shamans, describe their work as of the devil, and insist that the spirit of God effects Shaker cures. But the Shaker Cult, too, although it enjoyed a following on the Klamath Reservation for some years, is dying. A few older people now meet in each other's homes for services. The Shaker church at Chiloquin, Oregon, is now rarely used, and the younger

[10] Spier, 1927, p. 45. The Ghost Dance was evidently introduced from the Northern Paiute. The Klamath held that Kemu'kemps was coming from the south and that the dead were to return. See p. 53.

[11] Nash, 1937, pp. 412-435; cf. Cora DuBois, *The 1870 Ghost Dance* (Anthropological Records, 3: 1, Berkeley, 1939), 130-134.

[12] Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, Menasha, Wis., 1935), 54.

[13] Erna Gunther, "The Shaker Religion of the Northwest," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian Smith (New York, 1949), pp. 37-76.

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

795 771 178 [182] 771 795 184 [197] [571]

reservation residents are not attracted. Like its more dramatic predecessors, the Shaker religion fails as a bulwark against societal disorganization.

The modern Klamath are in the main nominally Christian. Many are allied with local churches: Protestant groups attract a fair following; some are Roman Catholics; others now and again join the itinerant Pentecostal and Holiness groups. While many Klamath are unquestionably religious in the accepted Christian sense, the church offers a primary social outlet to those who value group association. Whatever the function of the church on the reservation today, apparently it has no aboriginal vestiges in its ritual or organization. It would be impossible to say to what extent tribal members find a link with the native past in the spiritual curing practices of such bodies as the Pentecostal Assemblies of God, which, however, clearly make no concessions to aboriginal concepts.

771 177 184

It thus seems evident that the overt forms of tribal religion are gone. The Klamath majority is now avowedly Christian even though church affiliation is not universal. Religious attitudes seem highly diverse. Some individuals, while indifferent to religious tenet, are admittedly attracted by the display or by social opportunities. Some are devout, others ignore the churches entirely. Still others, whether or not church members, speculate on religious questions, show considerable introspective preoccupation, or are frankly curious about native religion and Christianity. Their opinions and attitudes demonstrate that the aboriginal past is not wholly dead. In this consideration, shamanistic curing may be ruled out, since modern medicine is generally accepted by the Klamath and, in any case, shamanistic patterns have merged with the decaying Shaker Cult. Since this is so, the less formalized aspects of the aboriginal religion survive to intrude now and again into modern conceptualization.

[755] [757]

183 [773] 183 224 825 [191] [763] 183

The survival of cosmological features may still be observed here and there. For example, tales of people and animals turned to stone by Crow's laughter are half-credulously recounted by young and old. A surviving custom or two, reflecting the older world-view, might also be noted. A boy who kills his first deer is well advised not to eat its meat himself. By giving the game away, he averts failure in his next hunting expedition. Hunting on the reservation today is a sport, no economic value being attached to it. (Aboriginally too, the Klamath were so well adapted to their specialized lake-marsh economy that hunting played a distinctly minor part.) This custom, which may stem from the emphasis on wealth and generosity, is laughed down today but it is still practised. Another very common belief is that animals can speak Klamath but not English. A howling coyote is recognized by young and old as a harbinger of death; the owl says, "'Maklaks, 'maklaks," which "when you hear it, it means somebody close to you is going to die." The Klamath word means human and refers to the tribe itself. Taboos on the first game of the hunter, the first wild foods gathered, as well as fear of the owl are widely distributed among western tribes.

178

But more pertinent here are the modern Klamath views based on the past which either influence actual behavior or bridge a gap, conceptually, specu-